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New York

President: Mr. Freitas do Amaral ..... (Portugal)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Agenda item 29 (*continued*)

Commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations

Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations

Address by His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland

The President: This afternoon we hold the fourth meeting of the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The Assembly will first hear an address by His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted to the rostrum.

King Mswati III: I bring with me from the Kingdom of Swaziland the greetings and good wishes of Her Majesty and of the entire Swazi nation to all our friends and fellow members of the United Nations.

My task today is a very simple one: it is to declare my country's continuing commitment to the founding Charter of our Organization and to pledge our support to the United Nations and its agencies, through the provisions of the Declaration we shall be adopting.

This Declaration includes the original purposes and principles of our Organization and the same hopes and expectations of the founding leaders. For them, after the experience of two world wars, the idea of a world united in pursuit of peaceful development represented the best chance for humanity to focus its energy and resources, not on the futility of conflict, but on the necessities of survival.

Fifty years later, experience provides us with a clear image of our failures — as well as of our achievements — and requires of us that we learn from our mistakes and build on our successes. We have much to be proud of, and we honour particularly those whose lives have been dedicated and lost in the service of mankind.

Among those of us who have the privilege of addressing this historic gathering, I may, if God so wills, be one of the few who will be present when we commemorate our Organization's centenary, in the year 2045. I say this not out of pride, nor in the rashness of youth; I say this because today I stand before you, representing not only my country, but also the youth of the world and the generations still to come whose expectations and hopes for their own lives and for the

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future of mankind must form the focus for the United Nations in the next 50 years.

And what are those expectations, those hopes? I believe the United Nations founding fathers would have recognized their own goals in those of my generation. They are not too much to ask. They are, after all, what every human being has a right to expect — to have good health, shelter, security for one's family, to be free to pursue the ideas and beliefs of choice, to be educated and employed and, above all, to be able to live in peace on equal terms with one another and in harmony with all God's creations.

The Declaration we have before us, with its blueprint for the improved performance of the United Nations, represents our best chance to realize our people's dreams.

It requires of us, as Members of an Organization from which not one person or nation must feel excluded, to work together with a common purpose and to a collective set of priorities and principles.

We recognize the need for the United Nations and its agencies to have the structures and capacity to be able to work on our behalf with efficiency, transparency and accountability and always with an ear to the wishes of its membership.

The key decision-making bodies in which we place our trust must adapt in such a way that they truly represent all countries and arrive at conclusions that take into account the opinions and welfare of our peoples.

As Members, we must each of us recognize the responsibility we assume with our membership: to support our Organization, to respect one another's sovereignty, traditions and individuality; to implement the plans of action designed for our social, economic and political development and to abide by the principles of our founding Charter for the good of those whom we represent.

In the year 2045, I wish to be able to stand and meet the gaze of my children, and my grandchildren, and say, "We did our best". If we can all share this commitment to future generations — and if our Organization can adapt to the changing requirements of the times — then the world in 50 years' time will be a safer, happier place for all and we will have discharged our duty to our own peoples and to all mankind.

On behalf of the Kingdom of Swaziland, I do so commit myself and my people to the future of the United Nations in the belief that it is the one, global organization with the capacity and purpose to allow us to reach our goals.

The President: I thank the Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland for his statement.

His Majesty King Mswati III, Head of State of the Kingdom of Swaziland, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Rtd. Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Retired Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana.

His Excellency Rtd. Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Rawlings: Today we acknowledge and applaud that powerful vision of the equal rights of nations, large and small, of men and women, and of freedom and justice enshrined in the noble Charter of the United Nations.

The Charter has given the post-war international community of States moral and legal bearings. It has expressed in unforgettable words, with irresistible logic, the principles on which a new, better world could be built, a world where tolerance and mutual respect would reign.

This fiftieth anniversary is indeed cause for celebration: United Nations membership has grown from 51 States to 185; the old colonial empires, as we all know, have been dismantled, even if new forms are emerging; the cold war may seem to be at an end, though many of us are still living with its very painful legacies; and issues of the environment, women and children, social development and population have been placed at the centre of the development agenda. Let me on this occasion pay tribute to the honourable lady from Tanzania, Mrs. Mongelia, under whose leadership the Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, successfully got its point across to the world. Today, we know that development means people and the quality of their lives, and not just statistical indices.

On this very important occasion, I salute the United Nations on your behalf, most of all for the millions who are healthier, safer and happier through one form of United Nations action or another. We must also salute the United Nations agencies for the millions of refugees worldwide who, but for the Organization, would have lost hope and even life itself. We must pay tribute to the United Nations for its peace-keeping efforts to stem human suffering. Finally, we must also pay tribute to the United Nations for the independence of many new States and for the end of apartheid rule, especially in South Africa.

In congratulating the United Nations, we are applauding ourselves. The Organization is very much us. It is the collective will of the international community of sovereign States, embodying our collective weaknesses as well. This fiftieth anniversary is therefore also a time for very sober reflection on our failures. Talking about our failures, I think it is also important that on this occasion, as we applaud ourselves for our successes, we must at the same time acknowledge that expressed in the many conflict situations in different parts of the world are very painful situations resulting in the loss of many lives.

Within this sober reflection, we must also admit failures that are manifested in the revival of genocide and in ethnic cleansing, blatantly practised in different guises around this globe of ours. These failures are shown on the distended stomachs of malnourished children all over the third world, and most especially on my continent, in Africa. For us in Africa particularly, the next 50 years will perhaps be even more crucial than the past 50 years. We want to see in the international community, and in the framework of the United Nations, a reversal of our continent's marginalization.

We cannot help being struck by the fact that the international community is willing to spend $5 million a day on United Nations peace-keeping operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina — and we do not begrudge those noble people such international solidarity; indeed, they deserve it — but when we have asked for a sum that represents 10 to 15 days of that bill to help those of us in Africa who are making every possible effort to assist ourselves with our meagre resources, there is a deafening silence. Should such double standards continue? This is the question I put before you. How long will world statesmen omit even a glancing reference to Africa as they survey the world scene, despite the numerous resources that she has provided to today's modern world?

Let us not forget that Africa's resources — as I have said, both human and material — have over the centuries made a very major contribution to the wealth of nations and to human progress. We must therefore denounce the selfishness that has the means and sees the other's needs, but refuses to meet them. We see the reckless over-consumption of some amid the wrenching, grinding poverty of so many. We feel the hunger in the midst of plenty, the want in the midst of so much abundance.

We must equally deplore the international focus on only what is negative about Africa and the indifference to the positive that also prevails on this continent: the images of starving children but not of new schools and clinics; the emphasis on failed policies but not on success stories that have been chalked up all over the continent, very often with the assistance of the developed community, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as the World Bank; and the focus on urban degradation but not on new industrial progress, which is another unfortunate misrepresentation of what is taking place on our continent.

Let us hope that the next 50 years of the United Nations will see the end of these double standards in our international affairs. As we salute the Organization's achievements and acknowledge its shortcomings, we must do everything possible to commit ourselves to reform and democratization within this august body. Let us together recapture that vision of the Organization's founding fathers and keep the hopes of millions alive. Let us, the trustees of that vision, turn our words into positive action for generations to come. Let us build a world in which the sense of internationalism that gave us this honourable Charter will carry us into a twenty-first century where right and not might will prevail; where justice will subdue injustice; and where the small and weak can safely live alongside the big and strong without feeling intimidated.

Let us remember that there can be no bright future for the world, no new international order that is sustainable, without Africa occupying a dignified place, her rightful place at the table of humanity and in the councils of global decision-making.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Ghana for his statement.

His Excellency Rtd. Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia.

His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Soeharto *(spoke in Bahasa Indonesian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: I deem it a distinct privilege for me to participate, on behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia, in this historic commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations is particularly significant to us in Indonesia, for this year we are also celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of our independence. It is no coincidence that both the Charter of the United Nations and the Constitution of Indonesia embrace the same principles and objectives, both yearning for the universal peace that will come only when all humankind share the fruits of freedom and justice.

For Indonesia, the United Nations is an important forum for the fulfilment of our constitutional mandate to contribute to the eradication of colonialism, domination, poverty and injustice everywhere and to the shaping of a new international order. The United Nations has figured prominently in Indonesia's struggle to preserve its freedom.

The United Nations has played a crucial role in containing conflicts in various regions. To ensure peace in this post-cold war era, however, we need to enhance the capabilities of the United Nations through more effective global and regional mechanisms for peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building, as well as preventive diplomacy.

On the whole, the United Nations and its specialized agencies have pursued an immense array of activities that touch every aspect of people's lives all over the world. It cannot, however, continue to carry them out with undiminished success and vigour while it totters on the brink of financial insolvency. This situation cannot go on indefinitely without adverse consequences to the world community.

Let this fiftieth anniversary of our Organization be an occasion for all of us to address this critical issue, as well as the issues relating to its reform, revitalization and democratization, so that it will be able to adapt to the challenges of our time.

Since the 1960s the United Nations has launched a series of international development strategies, but these have not been sufficient to redress the imbalances between the developed and the developing countries. The gap between them continues to widen. The developing countries remain marginalized from the world economic decision-making processes.

With the end of the cold war, there has been a new surge of interdependence and multilateralism, while the world economy has become increasingly globalized. The Non-Aligned Movement, at its Jakarta Summit in 1992, adopted a new approach and orientation and launched an initiative to once again engage the developed countries in a dialogue, based this time on mutual interests and benefits, equitably shared responsibility and genuine interdependence. It is our hope that the revival of this dialogue will be distinctly reflected in the Agenda for Development so that it will adequately complement the Agenda for Peace.

In these troubled times, we, the Governments and peoples of the world, look up to the United Nations for the sustenance of our hopes. There is no question but that we need the United Nations. What we often forget is that the United Nations needs us too. We applaud its triumphs, but we often forget that its failures are ours too. Its responsibility is our responsibility.

The United Nations has served us well over the past half century. However, we will never be able to realize the new international order of greater peace, social justice and common prosperity so long as the Organization is allowed to remain in the state that it is in today. We can reach that goal only after we have finally made the United Nations the effective instrument of peace that was envisaged 50 years ago.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Indonesia for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Bailey Olter, President of the Federated States of Micronesia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Bailey Olter, President of the Federated States of Micronesia.

His Excellency Mr. Bailey Olter, President of the Federated States of Micronesia, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Olter: I have the honour and privilege of bringing to this historic gathering the greetings and best wishes of all the people of the Federated States of Micronesia. The presence here of so many nations represented at the highest level is the greatest testament to the universality of the United Nations and provides us with a strong political foundation on which to chart our Organization's role for the next 50 years.

As other speakers have noted, this is a time not only for celebration, but also a time for reflection and assessment. As a people who have placed special reliance on the United Nations throughout its existence, Micronesians living today have always felt we were a part of the Organization even though we became a Member only a few years ago.

We will remain grateful to the members and staff of the Trusteeship Council and to the United States, as Trusteeship Administering Authority, for the roles they played in our progress towards self-determination and, finally, independence. It is fitting that just prior to this anniversary the Trusteeship Council completed its work. Thus, the successful discharge of its heavy assignment under the Charter is one of the accomplishments we rightly celebrate here today.

Today we also celebrate the fact that in the course of the past 50 years there has been a sharp decline in the practice of colonialism by the world's major Powers. But, unlike the experience with the Trusteeship system, the Charter has been less effective in bringing some nations to put aside their own self-interests and assign their colonial holdings to a rightful place in the history books. This unfortunate reality still affects the lives of thousands of people throughout the region of the Pacific Islands.

Because our region is distant from the homelands of the colonial Powers, it retains a certain usefulness to them for the disposal of their dangerous materials and for the conduct of tests and other practices too hazardous to carry out at home. Thus, on assertion of the sovereign rights of Governments half a world away, we, along with the colonial inhabitants, are forced to endure the consequences of these actions, consequences which will be felt for generations to come. This dampens our celebration today.

As we know, the Charter commits all Members to take separate and joint action to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights. This is closely related to broad obligations regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories. Sad to say, however, these goals of the Charter remain largely unrealized, despite dedicated and persistent efforts on the part of United Nations Members over many years. Indeed, brave people have laid down their lives in the service of the United Nations in pursuing these goals, and we honour them here. Their sacrifices are not in vain.

It is our hope that during the next 50 years strides can be made in achieving better harmony between the inevitable considerations of national self-interest and the legitimate rights and expectations of the less empowered people of the world. I fully realize that even today such a statement sounds idealistic, and that is the problem we face. Nevertheless, only in such a context can real life be breathed into sections of the Charter that have not been adequately addressed during the first 50 years.

The accomplishments of the United Nations up to now as a forum for the advancement of world peace and security cannot be minimized, and I salute those accomplishments while recognizing the work that remains. But this Organization has an even greater mission. As populations grow and make increasing demands on the limited resources of our planet, even the most richly endowed among us must come to understand the great, futuristic vision of the Charter. It wisely calls upon peoples and Governments large and small, rich and poor, to incorporate in their policies and actions true respect for the right of all, including the least privileged among us, to live in conditions of decency and equality.

This challenge is not only for the developed world, but applies equally to developing nations. It is not a simplistic call for more North/South assistance. Instead, it seeks a universal awakening to the single most important reality of our lives today. This reality is that all our interests become more closely linked with each passing generation. We all have responsibilities if we are to turn back the consequences of our past selfish behaviour. The destruction of war, the improper stewardship of our natural resources, the pollution of our living space, the diminishment of our biological diversity and the havoc we will wreak upon the very climate of

our planet, will all combine to overwhelm the Earth's population unless we find common ground.

That common ground exists. It exists here. It does not ask us to surrender our nationhood or our culture. It is the Charter of the United Nations — a visionary document that has achieved much in its 50 years, and provides a format for our very survival. God grant that we will have the courage to build on it.

The President: I thank the President of the Federated States of Micronesia for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Bailey Olter, President of the Federated States of Micronesia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the Republic of Cyprus

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the Republic of Cyprus.

His Excellency Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Clerides: As we are commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, I consider it my solemn obligation to pay tribute, on behalf of the people and the Government of Cyprus, to the founders of our Organization, whose vision and determination made its creation possible, and to encourage and congratulate all of us who take part in this Organization.

The world Organization, born out of the ashes of the Second World War, has, despite the vicissitudes of the cold war and the present turbulent world situation, achieved admirable results. The vital issues of decolonization, peace-keeping, human rights, democratization, development and the codification of international law have been addressed with considerable success. On the other hand, efforts towards global peace and security, the primary responsibility of the United Nations, have had varied results. The much hoped-for peace dividend from the demise of the cold war, has unfortunately eluded us, and numerous ethnic conflicts exert, as a result, their daily heavy toll on human life and produce material losses.

At the same time, some long-standing problems, including the problem of the invasion and occupation of part of the territory of my country by Turkey, have remained unresolved for years.

Such situations give rise to questions regarding the validity of the United Nations Charter and the effectiveness of the Organization.

The United Nations Charter, a great human achievement, embodying the wisdom and vision of the drafters to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, constitutes the legal and moral foundation for international relations, and is as valid and relevant today as ever.

What is really needed is to reduce the gap between principle and practice created by the failure to apply objectively and universally the provisions of the Charter, thus causing insecurity, frustration and bitterness. It is also essential to uphold the authority of the Organization against those who flout international opinion as expressed in United Nations resolutions.

We are now witnessing the ever growing and dramatic direct engagement of the United Nations in the complex maintenance of international peace and security in our ever changing, interdependent world. Because of these challenges and those that lie ahead, we must deal on a priority basis with the very important issues of revitalizing, both financially and otherwise, reforming and strengthening our Organization so that it may become a more potent instrument in the service of mankind, in whose name it was created.

The human genius that was enlisted in the cause of peace immediately after the Second World War is called upon to face new challenges in the cause of peace, development and cooperation between nations.

Perhaps no tribute to our Organization would be more fitting than to recommit ourselves to the everlasting principles and ideals of the United Nations Charter and join in determined efforts, now and in the years that lie ahead, to invigorate both our institutions and our own resolve for the promotion of the universal aspirations for peace, justice and cooperation between the countries and peoples of the world.

The Republic of Cyprus pledges its determination to make every effort so that the activities of the United Nations will be further expanded, its principles and values universally applied and its resolutions fully complied with. We pledge our resolve to defend the

principles and ideals of the United Nations, the Organization whose fiftieth anniversary we so proudly and solemnly celebrate today.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Cyprus for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Glafcos Clerides, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Armando Calderón Sol, President of the Republic of El Salvador

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Armando Calderón Sol, President of the Republic of El Salvador.

His Excellency Mr. Armando Calderón Sol, President of the Republic of El Salvador, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Calderón Sol (*interpretation from Spanish*): Fifty years ago, the destruction and suffering caused by two world wars led us to reflect deeply and join together to create the United Nations, an Organization intended to maintain international peace and security and foster justice, dignity, human well-being, understanding and cooperation between nations.

The international order of the post-war period was marked by antagonism and ideological confrontation. None the less, the United Nations attained important and substantial achievements, outstanding among which were its significant contributions to avoiding another world war with unimaginable consequences, eliminating colonialism and racial discrimination, encouraging the codification of international law, strengthening the international system of human rights protection and promoting international cooperation for the improvement of the political, economic and social conditions of our peoples.

After so many years of tension and insecurity in the bipolar era, the world has become a substantially different place because of the deep-going transformations it has undergone. The cold war is over, the geopolitical map has been radically altered, a worldwide democratization process has emerged, cooperation has replaced confrontation and a globalization process has begun in the political, economic, social and environmental spheres.

In the light of today's international reality, we are convinced that the purposes and principles of the United Nations are uniquely valid. This is the only universal system that States can trust to study and implement measures for the attainment of common goals of humanity — with the necessary understanding that Member States have the responsibility to provide this intergovernmental Organization with the means and resources needed to reach its objectives. In this regard, the United Nations must deepen the comprehensive modernization process that will enable it to rationalize the use of its resources, while becoming more efficient and transparent in the fulfilment of its functions.

The global agenda we have before us requires prompt and effective responses to the problems of drugs — production, trafficking and consumption — terrorism, money-laundering, organized crime, corruption and all the other scourges afflicting humanity today. At the successful conferences on human rights, environment, population, social development and women, organized by the United Nations, we reached very important worldwide commitments that should be properly followed up.

The eradication of poverty continues to be the main challenge facing the Members of the Organization, and we must not rest until we have broken the fateful cycle that condemns those born into poverty to die in poverty.

In order to put a duly modernized United Nations in the best position to respond effectively to the challenges it faces, it is essential that all Members have the political will to meet their financial obligations.

In connection with the reform process of the Organization, we are in favour of promoting opportunities for participation and increasing representativity. For their very survival, small States must usually be more creative, and that creativity could be put to better use if our right to more equitable participation in all the principal organs of the United Nations were respected. Similarly, the representativity of the Security Council should be augmented to reflect the new structure of the international community.

In commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, we wish to reaffirm our confidence in the United Nations, especially because its cooperation enabled the Salvadoran people to achieve peace and end a fratricidal conflict that had lasted more than 10 years. The successful contribution of the United Nations to the reconciliation process in El Salvador has served to strengthen our commitment to the principles inspiring it.

We hope that the Declaration adopted at this Special Meeting will constitute an unescapable commitment by all Member States of the Organization to fulfil its purposes and principles and achieve its goals of lasting peace and a better world for future generations.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of El Salvador for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Armando Calderón Sol, President of the Republic of El Salvador, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, President of the Republic of Cape Verde

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, President of the Republic of Cape Verde.

His Excellency Mr. Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, President of the Republic of Cape Verde, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Monteiro *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: First of all, Sir, I wish to tell you how pleased I am by your election to the presidency of the fiftieth session of the General Assembly and, at the same time, I wish to express my firm belief that your well-known personal qualities and extensive experience will guarantee that you will lead the work of our Organization in an effective and decisive manner.

Similarly, I wish to convey our sincere appreciation to your predecessor, a distinguished son of a fraternal country, Côte d'Ivoire, His Excellency Mr. Amara Essy, whose leadership of the forty-ninth session was a valuable asset in the performance of the United Nations.

To the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali, I reiterate my warmest tribute for his devoted performance of his duties; he deserves the international community's appreciation and respect for this.

This Special Commemorative Meeting on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations is of undeniable importance and significance. This is no mere celebration. The representatives of our countries have a crucial task before them: to assess the course taken in the past half-century and, more important, to assess the future of our Organization. We are at the dawn of a new era, with new challenges and different demands.

We must make a new commitment to the future and, therefore, to the future of our Organization. We should, thus, reaffirm our unequivocal will to continue to fulfil the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Today, after 50 years, it is legitimate to conclude that the United Nations has been able to accomplish its mission. Hence, nobody would know how to define our present world without the United Nations, taking into account not only its role in promoting and facilitating the great, imperative changes, but also its specific action in the most diverse fields of human accomplishment, both individually and collectively.

As for peace, the United Nations has an effective capacity for conceptualization and action, but it needs to be improved. This cannot be delayed in view of the new situation that has occurred since the disappearance of the old East-West confrontation. The current reality requires firm leadership on the part of the United Nations to preserve peace and security in such a way that, in the context of observance of the values and rules of international law, all Member States, big and small, will focus their abilities and energy on the promotion of the well-being to which all peoples have a right.

Therefore, it is essential to underline that development is a vital issue for humanity and I strongly believe that no efforts will succeed without a framework in which peace is an overriding value. Peace and development are components of the same struggle — a common struggle requiring, thus, the commitment of the international community as a whole, on the assumption that what is at stake is the future of humanity.

From the combat against desertification and drought to the protection of the global environment, from poverty eradication to the prevention and management of intra- and inter-State conflicts, from addressing demographic problems to the solution of related refugee and dislocated persons issues, from the perplexing condition of women to social development strategies, from international crime prevention to respect for and promotion of human rights: these are just a few examples of fields requiring the contribution of all those who truly believe in and wish for a better world.

In sum, this is a burden we should not transmit to future generations. We must commit ourselves to efficient, long-term strategies. Yet, in the present context of economic globalization, it is important to overcome the deficit in cooperation and coordination; this is so necessary to ensuring the viability and cohesiveness of

international life. This is a priority in the objectives and goals of the United Nations.

Furthermore, our Organization must, above all, reflect the present world with its own dynamics and intrinsic balance. This is how the ongoing reform process should be addressed. Continuing consideration should be given to financial matters so that problems in this area do not impair our ability to act, in particular, in development.

Enhanced lucidity and courage should guide us in our endeavours to promote reform leading to equality of rights among States, as well as transparency and democratization of the United Nations, particularly in the Security Council.

We must overcome the gap between provisions in the United Nations Charter and the palpable reality that we experience internationally. We should not close our eyes or be satisfied with half-solutions; rather, we should be creative and daring. Let us seize this historic, changing momentum.

An organization cannot be and cannot do anything other than what its Member States want it to be or to do. This is, therefore, the only way the United Nations can continue to be, at the dawn of the third millennium, an indispensable tool of the international community, the tool that we celebrate today and we bequeath to coming generations.

The President thanked the President of the Republic of Cape Verde for his statement; His Excellency Mr. Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, President of the Republic of Cape Verde, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency The Honourable Bill Hayden, A.C., Governor-General of Australia

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency The Honourable Bill Hayden, Governor-General of Australia.

His Excellency The Honourable Bill Hayden, A.C., Governor-General of Australia, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Hayden: As I stand here today before representatives of nearly every nation on earth, I am deeply conscious that the world is a very different place from the one which, 50 years ago, gave birth to the United Nations. As delegates in San Francisco in June 1945 prepared to sign the Charter of the United Nations, most of Europe and a great deal of Asia stood in ruins. Over 48 million people had died and the survivors of the greatest conflict in human history asked themselves what could be done to stop such a catastrophe from ever happening again.

Their answer was to create an organization which sought to enshrine the universal values of tolerance, social progress and respect for human dignity within international machinery; to ensure that all peoples and all nations, whether large or small, could be spared the scourge of war and provided the conditions for economic and social advancement.

The founders of the United Nations were not able to prevent war completely, either in their time or, regrettably, in ours. But the past 50 years have not seen global conflicts again and for that the United Nations can claim no small share. It has also been a time of unparalleled progress in a wide range of areas, some of which is immediately recognizable as the work of the United Nations but much of which has brought to the Organization only rare recognition.

The United Nations has played a crucial role in the pursuit of arms control, in developing the infrastructure for the global nuclear-safeguards system and in identifying and defining international human rights. The United Nations has done much to promote economic and social development, to work to improve the status of women, provide humanitarian and disaster relief, and tackle head-on — with remarkable success — world health problems. And, as one of its greatest achievements, the United Nations has played a central role in decolonization and in the exercise by hundreds of millions of people of the right of self-determination.

I recall with pride Australia's contribution to the founding of the United Nations, because of the central role played by Australia's then Foreign Minister, Mr. Herbert Vere Evatt. While Australia's primary goal for the United Nations in 1945 was the creation of a system in which conflicts between nations could be settled peacefully, in accordance with accepted international legal principles, Mr. Evatt argued, with great effect, that the political activity of the United Nations would not be enough by itself to prevent future conflicts and that the more fundamental causes of the world's problems would have to be tackled if international peace and stability were to be guaranteed.

The Government of Australia believes that, while the nature of the threats to global security and stability have changed dramatically since the Charter came into force 50 years ago, the Charter is as relevant today as it was in 1945 and that we need look no further than to a reaffirmation of its goals and objectives to guide the United Nations in the next millennium.

The challenge the United Nations faces now, and into the next century, is to reintegrate the functions of the Organization in the way the founders intended, to avoid the sterile and rigid division of peace and security issues, development issues and human-rights and justice issues. As Mr. Evatt and the other founders of the United Nations recognized, international peace and — perhaps more appropriately in our day and age — peace within States must be based on an inextricable linking of the concept of peace and security and the concept of development. If human needs for dignity and liberty are not met, all the material gain imaginable is unlikely to lead to sustainable peace. Peace without freedom, without dignity and without basic human rights is forlorn, barren and, at best, temporary.

Change and adaptation in the United Nations presents new challenges, which will require innovative solutions. The United Nations can only do what its Member States allow it to do, and a reintegrated, revitalized United Nations needs not only to lead new thinking on the part of its Member States but also to reflect new thinking. Any path forward must take account of that two-way process.

Moreover, we must not forget that if the United Nations is to work in the way we want it to, it must be provided with appropriate resources, and ultimately we must be prepared to pay for it. In the short term, this means that Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. Sadly, however, there are Member States that are in arrears not because they are unable to pay but because they are unwilling to do so. Beyond this, it is the Australian Government's view that if we are to address the longer-term problem of how to pay for the United Nations we must look seriously at the options that exist for supplementing Member States' contributions by external sources of finance. To overcome the present and likely continuing financial crisis of the United Nations, clear-sighted and innovative thinking is necessary in an examination of the entire issue of its funding.

The fiftieth anniversary should be a time to resolve what it is we can do for the United Nations — not what we cannot do. We must act cooperatively, decisively and quickly to chart a way forward which will ensure that future generations inherit a world free from the threat of war and free from the curse of want and inequity — a world which is a living reaffirmation of the fundamental and inalienable dignity and worth of humankind.

The President: I thank the Governor-General of Australia for his statement.

His Excellency The Honourable Bill Hayden, A.C., Governor-General of Australia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Ange-Félix Patassé, President of the Central African Republic

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Ange-Félix Patassé, President of the Central African Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Ange-Félix Patassé, President of the Central African Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Patassé (*interpretation from French*): I cannot contain my feelings on this exceptional occasion, when the nations of the world are assembled here to testify, equally with the many others who have spoken, to the long road that has been travelled since the signing of the Charter in San Francisco.

Today, on the occasion of the jubilee of our Organization, which is characterized by the density of its history and especially by its experiences, it is more than ever appropriate for the international community to draw the necessary lessons on which to base new hope, but especially, and above all, through which to fulfil the grand design of the Organization, in the interests of our peoples.

In the light of recent achievements, we pay tribute here to the perseverance of our elders, which led to the dismantling of apartheid and, especially, to a glimmer of hope of a final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is our hope that the same will happen in respect of the various conflicts, latent or acknowledged, which cry out to the United Nations by revealing to the international community the barbarities and atrocities which, unfortunately, we are still witnessing on this the threshold of the twenty-first century.

This is why it is reasonable for us to think that the end of the cold war ought to herald the end of an epoch and the advent of a new world characterized by tolerance, humanism and solidarity so that there might be more justice and peace among peoples and nations.

Hence, it must be emphasized that it appears unfair to certain nations that an Organization which wishes to be universal and democratic excludes other nations from its decision-making bodies. This being the case, it is a matter of urgency that the Security Council be expanded and that the United Nations system be decentralized so that there can be a better response to the sensitivities of the peoples making up the Organization.

We pay tribute to the United Nations for its efforts to support all transition towards constitutional legality, and especially its unshakeable opposition to any desire to revert to dictatorship, whether civilian, military, semi-constitutional or autocratic.

We draw the international community's attention to the very special efforts that we should like to see made on Africa's behalf. Indeed, if there can be no sustainable development without democracy, neither can there be democracy without economic and social development. Africa is therefore resolutely committed to the path of democracy. Today more than ever, the international community must mobilize itself to promote a new international economic order that honours human dignity and supports Africa's efforts to overcome the obstacles it faces: institutional under-representation; a low participation in international trade; a weak capacity for investment because of the burden of domestic and external debt; and above all, the cost of establishing new institutions in States that have just successfully completed their transition to democracy.

That is why, in keeping with the statement I made here in 1994, I repeat my desire to see the establishment of a genuine Marshall Plan for the development of Africa in order to support the irreversible democratic conviction of our peoples.

To the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations, we repledge our firm support for his work and our sincere faith in the United Nations, guarantor of universal peace, security and global well-being. We wish to see greater determination to combat injustice and more democratic rigour to preserve the universal mission of our Organization, particularly in putting an end to the tensions between the two Chinas and the two Koreas.

Long live our common Organization and may the twenty-first century be more peaceful and more conducive to progress for all humanity.

The President: I thank the President of the Central African Republic for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Ange-Félix Patassé, President of the Central African Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Mukar Cholponbayev, Chairman of the Legislative Chamber of the Kyrgyz Republic

The President: The Assembly will now hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Mukar Cholponbayev, Chairman of the Legislative Chamber of the Kyrgyz Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Mukar Cholponbayev, Chairman of the Legislative Chamber of the Kyrgyz Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Cholponbayev (*interpretation from Russian*): It is a great honour for me to represent my country at this historic Meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Drawing lessons from the tragic mistakes of the past, the Organization was created so that we might join forces in providing mankind with the future it deserves.

As representatives of an ancient people but a young nation, and reflecting on our own history and the half-century of efforts to create a new code of international cooperation, we express today our profound gratitude to the founding fathers of the United Nations. Thanks to their efforts, the world community has been successful in interrupting the tragic cycle of world wars. Today our discussions cover not the problems of global war, but rather global development.

Although we hear criticisms of the United Nations from various directions, we are united in our commitment to its goals and principles. This shows that the United Nations is a living body and that it is needed by all of us. Let us then join our efforts to make it more effective and more responsive to the contemporary challenges facing mankind.

My country highly appreciates the efforts of the United Nations in providing support to countries that

have only recently achieved independence. We see our future as linked to the mainstream of global development. We have chosen the path of democracy and radical economic reform. At the moment, preparations for presidential elections, in accordance with democratic principles, are under way in my country. This step underscores our faith in the ideals of freedom and democracy.

We are grateful to the General Assembly for its support for our celebration this year of the thousandth anniversary of our national epic *Manas*, which reflects the humanistic vision of our people in harmony with the ideals of the United Nations. In consideration of this support, the people and Government of my country are presenting the United Nations with a sculpture of our national hero, Manas. This gift will be presented to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, as a symbol of our hopes for solidarity and brotherhood among the peoples of the world.

The world has changed radically in the past 50 years and we believe that it will follow the path of solidarity, mutual trust, tolerance and cooperation. In this connection, our Organization should be restructured to meet the challenges of the new post-cold-war era. We support the proposals made here concerning the membership of the Security Council, the main aim of which is to make this important body more effective. While paying tribute to the role of the nuclear and economically powerful countries in resolving problems of security and social and economic development, we are not in favour of turning it into a club for the rich and powerful. Moral force, alongside other considerations, should be imperative in the Council's work.

We sympathize with the feelings experienced by small countries in the world community. Here the key to the problem lies in reaffirming the principle of interdependence in the world. The large countries cannot enjoy material and spiritual prosperity until they recognize that they are part of the same world as smaller countries. This logical combination of realism and idealism is the basis for mutual understanding and accord in the future.

Yes, the United Nations today is far from ideal. The main reason why a world war has been avoided is the fear of nuclear catastrophe. But we have yet to grasp the catastrophe threatening humanity from persistent prejudice in our mutual relations, estrangement, and national selfishness. Today, in the final count, peace and prosperity alike are indivisible. There can be no expectation of a lasting universal peace while factors giving rise to hatred, intolerance and conflict persist. At the epicentre of many calamities lie such detonators as poverty, feelings of hurt national pride, and social and psychological tension. In this regard, we would like to see the United Nations as an international mechanism for preventing catastrophes rather than fighting their consequences. When raising the issue of global well-being one cannot ignore the overall aspect of regional cooperation: the problems of ecology, security and drug trafficking require the joint efforts of all interested parties. Our country is prepared to cooperate in these efforts with the United Nations and its Members.

The strength of the United Nations is in us — its Members. The efficiency and authority of our Organization depend on our own will and trust, our political and financial support and skilled human resources. My country, as a new Member, is ready to bring to the next 50 years of the United Nations its peacefulness and good will, its energy and enthusiasm and its knowledge and experience. We believe in the United Nations.

The President: I thank the Chairman of the Legislative Chamber of the Kyrgyz Republic for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Mukar Cholponbayev, Chairman of the Legislative Chamber of the Kyrgyz Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Dahuku Péré, President of the National Assembly of the Togolese Republic

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Dahuku Péré, President of the National Assembly of the Togolese Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Dahuku Péré, President of the National Assembly of the Togolese Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Péré *(interpretation from French)*: At this solemn time, when our community is paying tribute to the major figures who created the United Nations, the fiftieth anniversary of which we are celebrating, I would like, on behalf of the Head of State of Togo, His Excellency Gnassingbé Eyadema, to convey his greetings and express the joy and just pride that I feel, in speaking on behalf of Togo. The importance of this event, the fiftieth anniversary, deserves to be celebrated at the Special Commemorative Session.

In my country, this event has a very special character, for two reasons. First, as a former ward of the United Nations, Togo, to some extent, owes its accession to international sovereignty to the United Nations. In this respect, it is appropriate to commemorate this anniversary in a significant way, and this, subsequently, has justified the fact that I am participating in this ceremony on behalf of our Head of State.

The people of Togo and their President would like here to express their profound gratitude to the international community for the inestimable support they gave to Togo in its struggle to affirm its identity and personality in order to meet its destiny by becoming independent.

On this solemn occasion, my country renews its firm commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. This solemn meeting offers us an opportunity to think about the major problems facing the world. Coming as it does at the end of the cold war, this fiftieth anniversary gives Member States an opportunity to strengthen the friendship and solidarity among their peoples so that a new approach in relations can emerge, truly based on the independence and equality of States. Henceforth, these relations should develop as part of a dynamic partnership based essentially on independence.

A rapid survey of the activities of our Organization over the last 50 years shows that while it has allowed the world to escape a world war of a scope comparable to the last two wars, the effects of which traumatized humanity, our Organization has not fulfilled our hopes — either in the area of peace-keeping or in the area of economic and social development. Indeed, despite the enormous means invested in safeguarding and restoring regional and international peace and security, this goal is far from being achieved. The world is witness to new armed conflicts the end of which cannot be foreseen. In the light of the lessons drawn from the experience of peace-keeping operations, it is important, in my country's view, to strengthen the capability of the United Nations in the area of preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

With respect to the reforms we are thinking about, we might more actively involve the General Assembly, which is fully representative of the international community when the modes of settlement prescribed by Chapter VI of the Charter are applied.

With regard to restructuring the Security Council, we must take into account the claims of a number of States which would like to have equitable representation in that body, so that its composition might reflect today's international realities, and so that the management of international peace and security would no longer fall within the competence only of the major Powers.

Economically speaking, we must deplore the fact that efforts to date have not made it possible to meet the challenges on the road to development and to improve the well-being of the populations in the South. It is a fact that the progress registered in the countries of the North and the stability of the world cannot be consolidated if the international community does not more firmly commit itself to the eradication of poverty, misery and illiteracy.

It is now a matter of correcting the inadmissible imbalances that characterize the economic relations between the developed and the developing countries, and thereby bring about justice and fairness.

Similarly, it is a matter of pressing urgency to reform the international financial and monetary system in order to improve the international economic environment, bearing in mind the deep aspirations of the majority of the peoples of the world.

The goals that our Organization has set for itself cannot be achieved without adequate economic support or without real solidarity between the rich and the poor countries. These things are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

This constantly changing world is far from being the one that could provide the vital minimum that all humanity needs in order to survive. Our Organization is obliged to redouble its efforts to achieve the goals of justice and fairness. In order to do so, we must explore and exploit as best we can all the possibilities which agencies and institutions have — be they subregional, regional or international — in order to ensure peace on the one hand, and on the other hand to ensure economic relations solidly based on partnership.

After 50 years, we must be able to affirm that, thanks to the United Nations, the course of history has profoundly changed for humanity. This change will bring further happiness to humanity if the efforts made by the United Nations can be adapted to the new international context. That is the only way that we will be able to accomplish our noble missions.

People throughout the world, while lauding the scope of the work already done by the United Nations to

bring about peace and solidarity among peoples, expect that it will meet their deepest aspirations better in the next 50 years than it has done in the last 50 years.

The President: I thank the President of the National Assembly of the Togolese Republic for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Dahuku Péré, President of the National Assembly of the Togolese Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency The Honourable Owen Arthur, M.P., Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs of Barbados

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency The Honourable Owen Arthur, Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs of Barbados.

His Excellency The Honourable Owen Arthur, M.P., Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs of Barbados, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Arthur: The adoption of the Charter, by consensus, at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco in 1945, represents one of the great moments of history. Today we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, which embodied the hopes and aspirations of a world devastated by war. The vision of global cooperation enshrined in the new world Organization blossomed and matured into an extensive network of institutions — the United Nations system — whose service to humanity has touched the daily lives of people in every corner of the world.

The United Nations has built a proud record of accomplishments. It has become our best hope for promoting global peace and security, even as it fashions a body of international law that enables global interdependence, cooperation and communications.

This Organization, particularly through its specialized agencies, has coordinated international efforts against disease, hunger and suffering. It has promoted democracy and economic and social justice, and, to this end, has provided a universal mechanism for charting international economic and social policy.

And within the process of decolonization, the United Nations has not only secured the dismantling of apartheid, but has also played a significant role in ensuring that more than 60 countries — many of which, like Barbados, are small and vulnerable — have achieved their independence.

Barbados salutes the leadership provided by the distinguished Secretaries-General and the dedicated staff who have served with distinction the noble mission of the United Nations.

These accomplishments must not blur the real difficulties or complexity of the tasks that have confronted, and continue to confront, this Organization. Many setbacks have occurred along the way. In moments of frustration and disappointment, we have even wondered, often aloud, if the United Nations has failed us, perhaps forgetting that our United Nations represents no more and no less than the collective will of our Governments, which it serves.

Looking ahead, the United Nations of the next 50 years must embark on its unfinished journey, reformed and re-energized, to meet the challenges of a world of tumultuous global change. Barbados reaffirms its commitment to the ideals of the Charter, which will guide us on this journey.

The reformed United Nations must construct a new system of security along the lines contained in "An Agenda for Peace", to reflect the changed nature of today's conflicts, conflicts mainly within nations rather than between nations. It must accelerate and intensify its development mission. In particular, it must respond with dispatch to the cry and suffering of the world's poor, whose plight weighs heavily on the conscience of the international community. It must implement the wide-ranging Programmes of Action created by the continuum of United Nations conferences, from Rio to Beijing; and, of special significance, the Bridgetown Declaration on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States. Should it do so, we can contemplate a happier future, in which nations live in peace, diverse cultures flourish in harmony, and all people enjoy freedom and material well-being.

The United Nations remains a special place for small island developing States. Often buffeted by both natural and man-made disasters and by the economic dislocations of globalization, they look to the United Nations for protection and support. For Barbados, this

United Nations — even though less than perfect — is still our greatest hope for peace, development and social justice.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs of Barbados for his statement.

His Excellency The Honourable Owen Arthur, M.P., Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs of Barbados, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency The Right Honourable Manuel Esquivel, Prime Minister of Belize

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency The Right Honourable Manuel Esquivel, Prime Minister of Belize.

His Excellency The Right Honourable Manuel Esquivel, Prime Minister of Belize, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Esquivel: Fifty years ago world leaders gathered in San Francisco to declare their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Succeeding generations, including our own, have seen continuing progress in addressing the issues set out in that opening paragraph of the Preamble to our Charter. We applaud the successes, even as we must pledge to correct the failures.

We must recognize that the preoccupations of 1945 are not necessarily those of the present generation. The 50 original signatories to the Charter could not have foreseen that 50 years later this world Organization would consist of Member States with populations ranging from 1 billion to 16,000 people.

It is easy to understand that war and the peaceful settlement of disputes would have been the number one priority in 1945. I suggest that in 1995 priority number one is to be found not in the Preamble to the Charter, nor even in Article 1, but rather in Article 2, which states that this

> "Organization is based on ... the sovereign equality of all its Members."

In 1945 Members probably regarded that statement as self-evident. Today, as the large and powerful sit side by side with the small and vulnerable, the principle of sovereign equality is a difficult pill for some and an elusive goal for others.

We must confess that equality presents this Organization with a vast amount of unfinished business. Although the provisions of the Charter refer to the equal rights of nations large and small, it is troubling that during these 50 years this Organization has not systematically constructed edifices to enshrine equality. Too often the word is used in a rhetorical manner. As we all know, there is a formal equality, which connotes non-discrimination or liberalized access, and there is substantive equality, which connotes tangible benefit. Even in the formal sense, equality among Member States has been generally treated as a distant aspiration. Even our elaborate resolutions for human rights too often provide shelter for discriminatory practices, even in the areas with which we have been most preoccupied, such as civil and political rights.

In the political realm, despite this Organization's success in destroying the ramparts of colonialism, I regret that the embers of formal inequality burn very bright in the composition of the Security Council, the most vital organ for peace and security. It is time that we amended the Charter to guarantee that we will hear the important voice of small Member States and of all geographic regions in both echelons of membership of the Council.

In the social field, the Organization has only just began systematically to address such issues as full employment, social integration and poverty, in the national and international context. Clearly, we need to recognize that formal equality must here play an important part.

We have been most active about enshrining formal equality for nations in matters of trade and economics. However, when we inquire why this is so, we must confess that this doctrine seeks not so much to benefit all the nations and peoples, large and small, as much as it happens to coincide with economic doctrines that are designed to serve the interests of the larger economies. It is for this reason that I must express my deep concern about the pressure being brought to bear on smaller nations to join in the rush towards the new economic orthodoxy of free trade. For small, largely agricultural economies to survive in a world of free trade, a level playing field is not the only prerequisite for fair competition. The sporting metaphor that is more appropriate is that of the horse race, in which the

stronger and more experienced bear a heavier load to help equalize the potentials of the weaker and the less experienced.

In view of what I have just said, it is evident that the goal of substantive equality for both individuals and groups is very distant. It is even possible that there does not yet exist a clear consensus that, 50 years from the foundation of this Organization, all human beings, all States and all peoples are truly created equal. As a matter of fact, in some circles such a proposition might well still be considered heresy. After all, as we approach the twenty-first century, we are still unable generally to accept the proposition that poverty is a global problem that requires global solutions. In fact, many are unprepared to accept that human beings and nations are entitled to move steadily upward on economic, social, political and cultural trajectories which will provide genuine equality.

Many sectors of first-world society are still at a level of evolution where they cannot accept the minimal obligation that those societies should effectively transfer a nominal 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance. In fact, this year the developed world has allocated a mere 0.3 per cent of gross domestic product to development assistance, the lowest level since 1973. Legal scholars still fail to accept that there may be a binding legal obligation to provide development assistance or economic cooperation for the world's betterment. Many of the world's wealthiest nations fail to acknowledge a moral obligation to help the poorest, or even to recognize that their own continued wealth ultimately depends on the growth of the purchasing power of the 4.5 billion people living in the world's developing countries. Yet most of the systems of religion and ethics that are represented in this Hall today espouse credos which acknowledge or require a responsible social conscience. I share the Secretary-General's fear, expressed in "An Agenda for Development", that

> "development as a common cause is in danger of fading from the forefront of our agenda". (*A/48/935, para. 5*)

Equality is the great unfinished business as much for this Organization as for all humanity. It is incumbent on us, at this time and in this place, to revitalize the commitment to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war by resolving promptly to complete this unfinished business. In that connection, let us recall the original intent of the creators of the Charter of the United Nations, expressed or implied even before the United Nations Charter, in the Atlantic Charter and other wartime documents, that freedom from fear and freedom from want are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. Let us therefore resolve to vitalize and generalize the slogan of the recent World Conference on Women: let there be equality, development and peace.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of Belize for his statement.

> *His Excellency The Right Honourable Manuel Esquivel, Prime Minister of Belize, was escorted from the rostrum.*

Address by His Highness Sheikh Sultan bin Zayed Al-Nahayan, Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Head of State of the United Arab Emirates

The President: I now call on His Highness Sheikh Sultan bin Zayed Al-Nahayan, Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Head of State of the United Arab Emirates.

> *His Highness Sheikh Sultan bin Zayed Al-Nahayan, Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Head of State of the United Arab Emirates, was escorted to the rostrum.*

Sheikh Al-Nahayan (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is an honour for me to convey to you the blessings and greetings of the President of the United Arab Emirates, His Highness Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al-Nahayan, and of the Government and the people of the United Arab Emirates on this important occasion marking the passage of 50 years since the foundation of the United Nations. The establishment of the United Nations was an important, historic turning-point in the lives of nations and peoples because of the Organization's active role in affirming the right to self-determination, the achievement of economic and social development and the maintenance of international peace and security.

> *Mr. Dehaene (Prime Minister of Belgium), Vice-President of the General Assembly, took the Chair.*

Our participation in these celebrations clearly reflects our firm belief in the important and historic role of the United Nations in the establishment of a new era of international relations and in strengthening peace and security, especially in the Arab region, a region that has been ravaged, over the past few decades, by numerous wars and conflicts that have consumed its material and

human energy and resources. The peoples and countries of the region expect the United Nations to perform a larger role in addressing the problems that resulted from those wars and conflicts and in finding radical solutions that would lead to the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the region's peoples after peace, justice, development and stability.

In this context, the Iranian occupation of our three islands poses a direct threat to the security of the region in general, and to that of the United Arab Emirates in particular.

On this important occasion when all countries shall renew their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the rules and norms of international law, we reaffirm our resolute political will to strengthen the role and increase the effectiveness of the Organization and its specialized agencies, in order for it to achieve the purposes for which it was established: namely, the creation of a world that would be free from war, repression, injustice and poverty. We reaffirm our position of principle against extremism, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the illicit trafficking in drugs, and call for the liberalization of international trade in the interests of international cooperation.

It is our hope that these celebrations will be a step towards evaluating the lessons of the past, and a new departure towards a bright future in which all mankind would enjoy security, stability and development.

The Acting President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Head of State of the United Arab Emirates for his statement.

His Highness Sheikh Sultan bin Zayed Al-Nahayan, Deputy Prime Minister and Special Envoy of the Head of State of the United Arab Emirates, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General of Saudi Arabia

The Acting President (*interpretation from French*): I now call on His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General of Saudi Arabia.

His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General of Saudi Arabia, was escorted to the rostrum.

Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is with pleasure that I congratulate the President of the General Assembly on behalf of The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd bin Abdulaziz, King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on his election to the presidency of the current session, which coincides with the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and, thereby, acquires special significance. His election is an expression of esteem for him and for his country. I also wish to commend the efforts of His Excellency the Secretary-General in the service of peace.

As I journeyed to New York to participate in this historic occasion, I reflected upon personal memories and general impressions. Fifty years ago the late King Faisal, then the Foreign Minister of my country, accompanied by King Fahd, embarked upon a similar journey to the United States with instructions from the late King Abdulaziz Al Saud, the founder of modern Saudi Arabia, to participate in the establishment of this Organization, which arose out of tragic events.

At the time, my country had just emerged from its own experience in establishing the foundations of peace and security over most of the Arabian Peninsula. After King Abdulaziz had succeeded in reunifying the Kingdom in accordance with the noble Islamic Shariah, which calls for justice, equality and brotherhood among people, he participated in the establishment of an international Organization which strives for the same principles on a universal level.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia represents the heart of the Muslim world, from whose soil the Islamic faith emerged; a faith which places peace at the forefront of its virtuous principles and rejects violence and terrorism. As a result, King Fahd continues to spare no effort in enabling the Kingdom to discharge its mission towards peace.

The Kingdom has completed an ambitious development programme and has made positive contributions towards the creation of a better world. A good example is my country's well-balanced oil policy and its foreign aid programme, which has contributed a

total of $70.6 billion over the past two decades to the benefit of 72 developing nations.

My country continues to believe in the importance of working towards realizing the objectives of this Organization. The resolutions which the Security Council adopted after the brutal Iraqi aggression against Kuwait had the most positive effect, and renewed confidence in the important role of the United Nations in supporting countries whose sovereignty is threatened. Kuwait was able to restore its right of existence and sovereignty.

I wish to note that the Kingdom attaches great importance to the safety and territorial integrity of Iraq. However, it holds the Iraqi regime responsible for the suffering of the Iraqi people and believes that the only way to alleviate this suffering is for the Iraqi regime to fully implement all Security Council resolutions, including the release of all prisoners of war.

International cooperation has had a positive impact in setting in motion the Middle East peace process, which was launched at the Madrid Conference. While the peace process has not yet achieved its ultimate goal, the opportunity still remains to move it forward, in particular on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks, provided there is adherence to its basis, namely, Security Council resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and 425 (1978) relating to Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, and Security Council resolution 252 (1968) regarding al-Quds al-Sharif which occupies a special place in the heart of every Muslim. In order for the desired peace to be based on trust, all weapons of mass destruction must be eliminated from the entire Middle East region.

The Serb aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina requires firmness in confronting it. The aggressor has refused to respond to all international pleas, while the Bosnians are denied the ability to acquire the means of defending themselves. The international response, under the leadership of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), was an appropriate one, even if it was late in coming.

This tragedy highlights the need for the United Nations not to be a strictly humanitarian organization, but to resume its role of establishing peace on the basis of justice and equality. Our Organization should not merely manage conflicts, but prevent them. Delays in responding to events cause the United Nations to waste its resources on failures rather than successes, and on death rather than on life.

The capabilities the United Nations has demonstrated over the past 50 years and the constructive role it has played in mobilizing international cooperation make us determined to support it in discharging its mission, particularly today, as it finds itself at a crossroads which will determine its future. If the yardstick of the Organization's success lies in its effectiveness in serving the cause of international peace and security, we must underscore the importance of abiding by its Charter and enforcing the resolutions of international legality. It is the hope of The Custodian of The Two Holy Mosques that our celebration today will make a watershed in the history of our Organization that will make it possible for the United Nations to achieve its goals and make it possible for all peoples of the world to live in security and to achieve continued progress.

May God Almighty help us attain the objectives we strive for. As the Almighty reveals in the Holy Quran:

> "Help ye one another in righteousness and piety, but help ye not one another in sin and rancour". (Susa V., verse II)

The Acting President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General of Saudi Arabia, for his statement.

His Royal Highness Prince Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Second Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Aviation and Inspector General of Saudi Arabia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Highness Sheikh Abdulla bin Khalifa Al Thani, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior of Qatar

The Acting President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on His Highness Sheikh Abdulla bin Khalifa Al Thani, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior of Qatar.

Sheikh Abdulla bin Khalifa Al Thani *(interpretation from Arabic)*: I should like to express our joy at this major celebration, the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. This body is the source of all the hopes for a stable world of peace and well-being for mankind. Qatar hopes that this anniversary will provide us with the opportunity for new departures towards the establishment of a new world that would strengthen the

trust of peoples in the norms of civilized living and that would see the achievement of people's expectations for economic and social development and human dignity.

We ardently hope to see the birth of a new United Nations, which can firmly and effectively face up to the challenges of wars, internal conflicts, ethnic intolerance and other hurdles which hold back mankind's progress. This can happen only if the Organization can do more than set up machinery to deal with conflicts after they erupt. Preventive measures should be taken to forestall such conflagrations through the development of societies, economically and socially and combating poverty, sickness and all the other causes of underdevelopment.

In order for the United Nations to achieve this, it must increase the effectiveness of its machineries: its councils, organs and specialized bodies, especially the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Membership of the Security Council should be expanded, the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process should be improved, the Organization's role in the economic and social fields should be reactivated and the shortcomings in the performance of its specialized agencies in these two areas should be rectified. This should be done in the interests of the Organization's goals which would lead to the prevalence of justice in the world and make it possible for all peoples to ensure for their future generations a future of peace, security and prosperity.

The question of the Middle East and the establishment of peace and justice in that region have been the focus of considerable efforts by the United Nations since its establishment. Today we can see some of the results of those laudable efforts.

The present peace process will, we hope, achieve the desired goal of finding a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

The State of Qatar, which appreciates the achievements of the United Nations, reaffirms its commitment to supporting this international Organization in order for it to achieve its noble goals and realize the aspirations of mankind. Given its belief in the mission of the United Nations and its awareness of the Organization's positive role in working for the emergence of a new world that would be founded on the purposes of the Charter and on commitment to its principles, especially those relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity and non-interference in their internal affairs as well as to the settlement of disputes, by peaceful means, the State of Qatar will continue, within the limits of the resources available to it, to contribute to supporting the United Nations activities so that it may achieve its goals and realize the hopes attached to it.

On this solemn occasion, we look forward to a new United Nations that would be capable of translating into concrete reality the goals it was established to achieve and that would, thereby, earn the confidence of all the world's peoples; a new United Nations that would contribute effectively to the making of a future of security and development for all men.

On behalf of the Emir, Government and people of the State of Qatar, we pay tribute to the United Nations on its fiftieth anniversary and call upon the representatives of the conscience of the world's peoples to support it, to abide by its decisions and to adhere to its principles so that it may become the true voice of all peoples that gives tongue to their true will and to their aspirations after a better future.

The Acting President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior of Qatar for his statement.

His Highness Sheikh Abdulla bin Khalifa Al Thani, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior of Qatar, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency The Honourable Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili, Deputy Prime Minister of Lesotho.

The Acting President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on His Excellency The Honourable Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili, Deputy Prime Minister of Lesotho.

His Excellency The Honourable Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili, Deputy Prime Minister of Lesotho was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Mosisili: We are gathered here to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and to reaffirm the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our commitment to them, particularly the principles of the sovereign equality of States, territorial integrity and non-interference in the domestic jurisdiction of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the avoidance of the threat or use of force in inter-State relations.

The end of the cold war raised hopes for a better world free of war, bloodshed, privation, famine and pestilence. We in Lesotho understand the bitter consequences of war and other war-like conflicts. Hence our unswerving commitment to peace. As the founder of our nation, King Moshoeshoe I, put it:

> "Peace is like rain which makes the grass grow,
> While war is like the wind which dries it up."

Because the absence of rain is a constant menace to our survival as a nation, we consider rain as being on a par with peace. This explains our founding father's metaphor. We therefore call on all nations to renounce war and to ban all nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

As we celebrate this historic occasion, we cannot but rejoice in the accomplishments of the United Nations in bringing the nations of the world together. Internal and international conflicts are, however, not over and we need, therefore, to reflect on their causes. Most, if not all, are a result of socio-economic deprivation, political and religious intolerance, oppression, ethnic cleansing, foreign occupation, genocide, xenophobia and colonial domination. All these are inimical to the United Nations principles and purposes, and our common resolve, therefore, should be to work together to build a world devoid of them.

It is in this connection that Lesotho is proud of its modest contribution to one of the ideals of the United Nations, namely, tolerance among peoples. During the dark days of apartheid we shared our modest resources with refugees from neighbouring South Africa without making them feel that they were outsiders. We pay tribute to the United Nations not only for its role in hastening the demise of apartheid, but also for material assistance to the refugees. We continue to place great store in the United Nations programme in the field of human rights. As Lesotho has steadily proceeded to construct a democratic governance, it has adhered to instruments safeguarding fundamental freedoms and human rights, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

The three pillars of the United Nations agenda in the next 50 years are peace, human rights and the betterment of humankind's economic and social condition. The Organization's capacity to satisfy our aspirations in those fields must be especially enhanced and its institutional reform accelerated.

In our view, such reform is critical in the three areas to which I have just referred. The Security Council needs to be enlarged so as to reflect current political realities, in which the countries of the South are a preponderant majority of the United Nations. The Council's decision-making, which has been monopolized by a handful of Member States for half a century, is no longer in consonance with the present-day drive for democracy within and among States.

Similarly, the organs dealing with social, environmental and economic matters, notably the Economic and Social Council,must be restructured to enable them to better deliver on the Organization's commitment to meeting the challenges facing the underprivileged members of our international community. Finally, the Secretariat must be equipped to respond effectively to the myriad problems needing the Secretary-General's attention. Topping the list of requirements, in this connection, is the provision of adequate financial and human resources to the Secretariat.

We ought to be proud that up to now we have, through collective action, warded off a calamity such as was the Second World War. It seems that a similar calamity may not recur. However, the economic, social and environmental future of the majority of humankind still remains bleak. Let us therefore rededicate ourselves once more to making the United Nations a veritable embodiment of humankind's hopes and aspirations for a better world for all.

The Acting President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the Deputy Prime Minister of Lesotho for his statement.

His Excellency The Honourable Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili, Deputy Prime Minister of Lesotho, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Omar Mustafa Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The Acting President *(interpretation from French)*: I now call on His Excellency Mr. Omar Mustafa Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

His Excellency Mr. Omar Mustafa Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Muntasser *(interpretation from Arabic)*: In the course of the fifty years that have elapsed since its establishment, the United Nations has sought to strengthen the procedures that guarantee the security and safety of peoples, ensure their obtention of their rights, promote their development and accelerate their advancement. But the Organization's success in achieving these goals has been modest.

Even in the post-cold war era, which had given rise to many expectations, the record shows that developments in the international arena have shown that those expectations were too optimistic. The factors that impeded economic progress in many countries of the world have not been radically dealt with. Unemployment rates have continued to rise. Social disintegration has increased, the vertical development of nuclear weapons has continued and civil wars and regional conflicts have broken out in most regions in a manner that has given the impression that the globe we live on has suddenly exploded.

Failure by the United Nations is not due to any defect in its Charter. It is due to the absence of political will in the case of a number of major Powers that want for the Organization either to become impotent and incapable of performing its tasks by withholding the funds it needs, or to surrender to the pressures of those Powers and to execute their designs. Regrettably, those few States have succeeded in achieving their objectives. The General Assembly, which should be the highest authority in the United Nations system, has had its role marginalized in such a way that it has become a sort of wailing wall where the small and poor countries shed their tears, exchange their woes while nobody listens and nobody cares. Most powers have been concentrated in the Security Council which has turned into a sort of exclusive club whose activities are governed by selfish interests and where double standards are the order of the day. In its actions, the Council no longer observes the rule of law but has turned into a body governed by customary law. This has enabled a few of its members to impose their policies, get their designs adopted and use the Council as a tool to impose sanctions on countries, especially small ones, in an attempt at subjugating them. Worse still, the Security Council, which is the body entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, has become an instrument of aggression.

This situation is untenable and impossible to coexist with. It is therefore necessary to evaluate the actions of the Organization and to seek to enhance its role in promoting development, correcting the imbalance in the world economy with its many trade barriers and coercive measures, and guaranteeing the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means, and not by the imposition of unjust sanctions. The United Nations capabilities should be strengthened in the areas of combating desertification, removing minefields, halting the deterioration of the environment, solving the host of problems that beset the world, such as poverty, hunger, drugs and organized crime, as well as epidemic and endemic diseases. The Organization should be enabled also to intensify efforts to eradicate the phenomenon of international terrorism in all its forms. Libya has sought and still seeks to combat terrorism and has called for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly for the study of the phenomenon of terrorism, including State terrorism. That is why it is unfair to accuse my country of terrorism as the American President did yesterday. The fact is that terrorism is, in essence, an American phenomenon. The United States has habitually used it against most peoples and States, including Libya, which has been the target of several American conspiracies aimed at overthrowing its revolutionary regime. When it failed to do so, the United States imposed on Libya its coercive measures and targeted it with many provocations by its Mediterranean fleets. American terrorism reached its peak when hundreds of American military aircraft, under the cover of darkness, raided and bombed Libya's cities, demolished houses, and left behind tens of innocent civilian casualties, including women and children. Lastly, the United States used the Security Council to impose unjust sanctions against Libya, under the pretext of a legal dispute already dealt with in the 1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation. These sanctions have resulted in the death and injury of thousands of Libyan nationals in road accidents because of the intensive use of roads. In addition, the economic losses have exceeded tens of billions of dollars.

For these and other reasons, it has become essential to reform the United Nations so that it may carry out its tasks in accordance with the wishes of all its Member States and not as a sword that hangs over their necks, especially the necks of the small ones among them. This requires the independence of the Organization in preparing its agendas and in adopting its resolutions. In this context, the role of the General Assembly in the field of maintaining international peace and security must be

enhanced especially when the posture of the Security Council becomes harmful to international peace. The powers of this General Assembly must be extended to include following up and monitoring other bodies specially the Security Council which should be held accountable to it: the General Assembly should look into the Council's resolutions to see to what extent they are consistent with the Charter and with the aims and purposes of the United Nations. Membership of the Security Council should be increased and should reflect an equitable geographic distribution. The Council's working methods should be improved to guarantee that it should not apply double standards in dealing with international issues. Also, participation in the decision-making processes of the Council should be expanded. The Council's tendency to follow the wishes of certain members in its interpretations of the Charter, especially Article 39 thereof, should be halted. The Council should perform in accordance with the wishes of all Member States. It is now high time to repeal the veto power because it is inconsistent with the principle of sovereign equality and has been used to prevent the condemnation of acts of aggression and punishment of the aggressor. The veto power has been used several times against the exercise of the right to self-determination by peoples that still languish under the yoke of colonialism. Above all this, it is no longer acceptable that such a privilege should be enjoyed by States which still colonize other countries and which seek to perpetuate their hegemony over the fate of the world and to monopolize the power of making international decisions.

This is our view of the march of the United Nations — our assessment of its role and our vision of what it should be in order for it to be able to perform its tasks. We hope that this occasion will be a starting-point for an unshackled United Nations that would continue to be revitalized and committed to the service of all peoples and not just a few States that seek to use it as a means to achieve their own ends. These few should realize that the United Nations has not been freed from the shackles of the cold war to find itself shackled by the fetters of major Powers. Should these States insist on making the United Nations deviate from its goals, and on exploiting it in imposing their domination on small and poor countries, they should not forget that it is the small countries that have helped the United Nations increase its membership and attain universality. Those small countries are quite capable of establishing their own organization away from the domination and hegemony of a few major Powers.

(*spoke in English*)

For people to reflect on, in *Macbeth* it says:

"Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death."

(*spoke in Arabic*)

I have conveyed the message to you all.

The Acting President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Omar Mustafa Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Destin Arsène Tsaty-Boungou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie of the Congo

The Acting President (*interpretation from French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Destin Arsène Tsaty-Boungou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie of the Congo.

His Excellency Mr. Destin Arsène Tsaty-Boungou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie of the Congo, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Tsaty-Boungou (*interpretation from French*): As we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, allow me to add the Congo's voice to the unanimous tribute paid here to the illustrious founding fathers and the important work carried out by the United Nations in decolonization, the promotion of human rights and the codification of international law.

This fiftieth anniversary comes at a time when a black page in the history of mankind, the page of the cold war, has been turned. But the world continues to face other challenges. Indeed, the widespread desire to bring uniformity to international society in political and institutional terms, on the one hand, and economic and social terms, on the other, has led to an imbalance every

bit as dramatic as the imbalance not so long ago when the world was bipolar.

East-West confrontation has been succeeded by another "cold war", even more injurious to the peoples of the South, especially those in Africa who daily fall prey to hunger, ignorance and disease.

Yet this fiftieth anniversary might have been an occasion to pay tribute to the progress accomplished by Africa in the past 50 years thanks to the solidarity of the international community. This fiftieth anniversary might also have been a time to rejoice that the countries that 50 years ago were poor and dominated, especially those on the African continent, now find themselves today among the prosperous nations of our planet, a natural position, given their boundless natural resources.

Unfortunately, on this fiftieth anniversary we are obliged to note that the same nations that were powerful 50 years ago are even more powerful today thanks to their command of science and technology. The expectations of the African peoples, who, like the other peoples of the planet, contributed to the liberation of mankind in the two major armed world confrontations that preceded the birth of the United Nations, have not been fulfilled by a fitting display of solidarity on the part of the international community.

Today, the end of the ideological war does offer prospects for African development thanks to the democratization of our countries' institutions. Yet for many African countries, the end of the single-party system that subjected their populations to so many misfortunes and conflicts has not created the conditions for a peaceful and prosperous life — far from it. Longstanding and long-repressed political resentments have turned into civil and even ethnic wars, compromising any chance of creating the conditions favourable to investment and development.

The President returned to the Chair.

The United Nations and the international community as a whole cannot remain indifferent to our peoples' desire to gain greater freedom, greater justice, and greater social well-being, as well as — and above all — to accede to the most relevant and greatest power of mankind — knowledge.

Africa can then be at the rendezvous of the history of nations certain that the principles of solidarity, equality and justice proclaimed in this Assembly as virtues sacred and cardinal to man's life and prosperity will indeed be the active ingredients of cooperation between North and South.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie of the Congo for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Destin Arsène Tsaty-Boungou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie of the Congo, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria

The President: I now call on His Excellency Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria.

His Excellency Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, was escorted to the rostrum.

Chief Ikimi: Mr. President, on behalf of my Head of State, General Sani Abacha, and the Government and people of Nigeria, I convey to you warm greetings as we observe in a Special Commemorative Meeting the high point of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

In the view of my Government, it is legitimate and purposeful that we transcend the euphoria of the occasion to take a hard look at the very purposes and principles which informed the founding of our Organization. As we do so, it is important that we have the courage to admit our failures and record successes.

Thirty-five years ago Nigeria was admitted as the ninety-ninth Member of the Organization. On that occasion our first Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, articulated our nation's foreign-policy principles and underlined our commitment to the United Nations. He said, *inter alia*:

> "First, it is the desire of Nigeria ... to remain on friendly terms with all nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations. Secondly, Nigeria, a large and populous country ... has absolutely no territorial or expansionist intentions. Thirdly, we shall not forget our old friends, and we are proud to have been accepted as a member of the ... Commonwealth. But,

> nevertheless, we do not intend to ally ourselves as a matter of routine with any of the Power blocs. We are committed to uphold the principles upon which the United Nations is founded. Fourthly, Nigeria hopes to work with other African States for the progress of Africa and to assist in bringing all African territories to a state of responsible independence." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 893rd meeting, para. 173)*

Today, I stand before the Special Commemorative Meeting on the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization to reaffirm these principles of our foreign policy as well as Nigeria's commitment to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter. All Member States have the duty, under the Charter of the Organization, to respect the rights of all nations, big or small, and to refrain from the threat or use of force and pressure capable of subverting the sovereignty and independence of other States.

The theme of war and peace has confronted the United Nations since its inception. Indeed, the founding fathers of the world body expressed their determination

> "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which...has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

Regrettably, these wars are proliferating mostly in the developing countries and have resulted in mindless human and material waste, destruction and dislocation of social structures, tidal waves of refugees and displacement of populations.

A major instrument for preserving international peace and security has been United Nations peace-keeping operations. These operations require huge financial, human and material resources. Nigeria has made important contributions to international peace-keeping efforts. We believe that United Nations peace-keeping operations have largely succeeded in mitigating suffering, staving off hunger and starvation and helping to resolve conflict. Nonetheless, the underlying causes of many conflicts are mainly social and economic. Therefore, the United Nations must strike a balance between the resources devoted to peace-keeping operations and those made available for economic development.

Development is a question of the human condition, and for many countries it is indeed a question of survival. Hence, the Agenda for Development must present a fitting complement to "An Agenda for Peace". When we address the issues of development, there must be a renewed sense of cooperation and partnership between the developed and the developing countries. The benefits of the recent growth in the world economy should also be more evenly distributed among all countries. Countries of the South should not remain trapped in poverty and underdevelopment nor constrained by low commodity prices, unfavourable trade practices, dwindling resource inflows, restrictions in the transfer of technology, unpredictable global monetary and financial systems and external debt burden.

We in Africa recognize that our socio-economic destinies lie in our hands. Nonetheless, the peculiar and unsatisfactory economic situation of the continent needs to be addressed as a shared responsibility. Therefore, the international community needs urgently to deliver on its commitment to Africa and fully implement the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s.

We in Nigeria are grateful for the interest shown by the international community in the evolution of our political and economic experiences, but we wish to recall that the destiny of Nigeria must remain in the hands of the people of our country. In this regard my Administration has taken enormous steps to restructure and revitalize our country's economy through deregulation and creation of incentives for investment.

Our programme of transition to democratic rule seeks to widen the base of governance and ensure the participation of all sections of the country. It proceeds from the premise that our sovereignty is inviolate and our nation indivisible. In our view, sustainable democracy can be achieved only if it draws sustenance from the socio-economic conditions of a people or derives from their political experience.

In conclusion, permit me to observe that from decolonization to peace operations, from the promotion of peace and security to the pursuit of development, the management of the environment and the promotion of human rights, the record of performance of the Organization has been impressive. There have also been disconcerting failures. Hence we believe that the Organization needs urgently to reform itself and democratize its major organs, particularly the Security Council and related institutions and agencies, to ensure representativeness, equitable geographical distribution, transparency and effectiveness.

In this regard Nigeria reaffirms the position of the Organization of African Unity that our continent should have two permanent members in an enlarged and reformed Security Council.

Finally, the United Nations must redefine its capacity and role as well as shift its focus away from crisis management to the pursuit of development and the primacy of international law. To this end the international community can always count on Nigeria's contribution and support.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria for his statement.

His Excellency Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency The Honourable Ben Micah, M.P., Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea

The President: I now call on His Excellency The Honourable Ben Micah, Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea.

His Excellency The Honourable Ben Micah, M.P., Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Micah: It is my honour and pleasure to address this Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations on behalf of the people and Government of Papua New Guinea.

First allow me to offer my warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this historic fiftieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Emerging from the scourge of the Second World War and the devastation inflicted by the nuclear holocaust, the founding fathers of the United Nations designed this unique multilateral Organization destined to foster international harmony, promote development, and ensure world peace and security. Much has been achieved in this first half-century of the work of the United Nations. However, greater challenges still lie ahead. The United Nations no doubt remains the only global entity capable of shaping international consensus in order to instil confidence and facilitate international development cooperation. Papua New Guinea stands to salute the achievements of the United Nations and will continue to support the noble cause and objectives of the Organization.

The end of the cold war provides a rare opportunity to the international community to divert its energies and resources towards positive development directed at meeting the basic needs of our peoples and thereby ensuring long-term peace and stability.

We have reached consensus on a number of important points at the international level, with the focus on social and economic issues, thus giving further impetus to international confidence-building. However, the full realization of the programmes of action has not yet been achieved. It will require dedication, commitment and, above all, political will and moral courage to commit the necessary resources for the effective implementation of the programmes adopted.

The forces of economic globalization have profoundly changed the geopolitical landscape, creating new opportunities as well as new challenges. While global economic integration has its positive aspect, it does not however promote homogenous development. The weakness of the international monetary system and unequal trading practices severely retard the economic growth of developing nations and further add to the difficulties of achieving competitiveness and access to markets in industrialized countries. Efforts to establish appropriate mechanisms to assist developing countries are concomitant with the issues of job creation, improving family income, and attaining social progress.

Environmental issues have become an all-encompassing international agenda. Within the context of an interdependent world we have collective responsibility, guided by the framework of international conventions, to manage and develop resources in a manner conducive to achieving long-term sustainability.

Through effective international and regional cooperation we will be able to meet our obligations as custodians of our biological resources by pursuing policies and strategies that would facilitate sustainable development.

At this crucial juncture in human history we are compelled by social and economic imperatives, characterized by growing poverty and marginalization of the powerless and the weak, to choose a course of action that will empower the citizens of the world to develop

their full potential in order to enable them to secure their basic needs and improve their livelihood.

The commitment of resources at both the national and international levels ought to be focused on the development of programmes that place priority on the development of human capacities, and removing institutional and infrastructural impediments in order to facilitate sustained economic growth and sustainable development.

Given the current international climate, my country strongly deplores the actions of some nuclear-weapon States in continuing their nuclear-weapon testing, acting contrary to the spirit and objectives of the recently extended Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The oceans of the South Pacific hold one of mankind's unique resources of biological wealth. Continuous nuclear testing within this very sensitive and environmentally vulnerable region not only directly threatens our common heritage but also threatens the basic survival of the Pacific island people. The action of these countries is a backward step which directly undermines the confidence given to the nuclear non-proliferation regime and hence threatens international peace and security.

We support the call for the reform of the United Nations to make it more efficient, responsive, and capable of meeting the multifaceted demands prompted by a rapidly changing international environment. We therefore agree that the United Nations future destiny lies in the hands of its Members.

Such a process of reform, however, should not be compromised by the dictates of the powerful. Consensus on the goals and objectives of United Nations reform should reflect the needs and aspirations of all Member States, and especially the particular needs of developing countries.

The United Nations has a pivotal role to play in shaping positive visions to guide international relations. The values of democracy, interdependence, tolerance and respect for diversity should be upheld in the interests of all Member States.

From this perspective Papua New Guinea supports the Secretary-General's efforts to define a new paradigm for development which emphasizes the empowerment of people and focuses on the human dimensions of development and on securing the basic needs of people and communities. Such a development concept can be pursued effectively through the framework of global governance based on the principles of equity and justice.

The United Nations must be strengthened to continue its work to defend the rights of the underprivileged and the powerless and to promote universal values that would embrace diversity and ensure world peace and security.

In conclusion, may I on behalf of my Prime Minister, The Right Honourable Sir Julius Chan, and the people of Papua New Guinea reaffirm our continuing commitment and support for the work of the United Nations and assure the Assembly that we will do our utmost to uphold the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter with God's help.

The President: I thank the Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea for his statement.

His Excellency The Honourable Ben Micah, M.P., Special Envoy of the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Roble Olhaye, Chairman of the Delegation of Djibouti

The President: I now call on His Excellency Mr. Roble Olhaye, Chairman of the Delegation of Djibouti.

His Excellency Mr. Roble Olhaye, Chairman of the Delegation of Djibouti, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Olhaye: His Excellency President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, on behalf of the people of Djibouti, is pleased to extend his warmest greetings to fellow Heads of State and Government and to all who are gathered here to celebrate this important milestone, the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization. Recognition must also be given to the untiring leadership of our Secretary-General, and to the dedicated efforts of the Secretariat of the United Nations whose management of this event has been so exemplary. Ambassador Butler of Australia and his Committee have also to be thanked for so diligently preserving the significance of this occasion.

The last 50 years have been momentous ones for mankind. During that time the United Nations has in large part managed to maintain a significant level of international cooperation. This is an achievement worthy of recognition and appreciation. True, the United Nations and its predecessor, the League of Nations, were erected

by the victors in the aftermath of global wars, essentially to prevent a repetition of similar catastrophes. But at its formation in San Francisco in 1945, the United Nations was seen as more than an instrument of collective security. It was to embody the collective hopes and aspirations of mankind and to serve as a forum of final resort for States in the throes of an uncertain post-war period. The early post-war period also witnessed the realization of a need to protect not simply nation-States, but the rights of the individual as well, as enshrined in the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

The demise of the cold war, with its rigid control over political change both within and between States, has unleashed a period of considerable ethnic and political conflict within States. Designated almost by default to settle these issues, the United Nations has seen its traditional peace-keeping role stretched beyond its limits, having lacked the capacity, experience or resources to cope with these new phenomena. Mandates for peace-keeping have often been too weak, inarticulate or deliberately confused, even as the relatively mundane activity of peace-keeping rapidly became a key instrument of the United Nations system.

But the persistence of conflict, particularly in Bosnia and Somalia, has sapped the political will of the United Nations to stay the course. Without a doubt, the atrocities and mayhem inflicted on a whole segment of the population in Rwanda will always haunt the United Nations. Ironically, we have returned to that somewhat indecisive, almost ineffective, posture of the cold-war era, and this is a situation of concern to many who look to the collective-security promise of the United Nations Charter for survival. Will mankind's future now be one filled with more Bosnias and Somalias, one of dangerous and unresolved conflicts, one where the United Nations shies away from disarming belligerents or protecting innocent civilians because of a lack of the right mandates, adequate resources and, of course, political will on the part of the international community?

For us in the Horn of Africa, long plagued by natural disasters and the residual effects of the cold war, there is a recovery in sight at long last. But the tragedy of Somalia cannot simply be abandoned. It cannot wither away, or even slowly die, and with it the whole region suffers. It is unfathomable that a country that has been a Member of this Organization since 1960 is sadly and conspicuously absent today. Let us ponder this anomaly as we continue to commemorate this fiftieth anniversary.

Our world is moving on, evolving in ways barely perceptible 50 years ago. Colonial empires have been dismantled, the cold war has ended, and mankind has struck out in search of new identities and structures. Rapid technological, economic and political changes have complicated the ability of States to control their own direction, while some have fallen considerably behind in the race for development. The inevitable uncertainties have provided opportunities for many unscrupulous groups to fan the flames of discontent in a rush to power. Once again we have come to realize there is seldom peace without development; democracy is simply another name for peace with development.

The sheer breadth of change and people-focused development have created new social realities, as well as demands from people never heard before. The United Nations thematic global conferences of the 1990s have given a significant voice to many of these suppressed groups and issues and have woven a common thread of concern to improve the lot of the world's majority. Hidden problems of health, education, poverty, environment, women and human and social rights are now glaringly public and unavoidable and call for new approaches to international cooperation and governance.

Certainly, the physical life of the individual has improved during the past half century. The spread of disease is much better controlled, and standards are now higher. Even in Africa, the last of the world's continents to take off economically, life expectancy climbed by 25 per cent between 1960 and 1992, and adult literacy doubled, to 54 per cent, in the last two decades.

While we are far from being a totally healthy and socially productive world, at least the possibility is irrefutable.

Fifty years ago, a mere 51 States began the United Nations. Today, with "nation inflation", we are 185 Members. In a world so different in so many ways, few would argue that the United Nations must be reformed if it is to remain relevant to the essential hope and vision of its founders for a better world. But it needs stable resources, reordered priorities and more relevant and representative structures. Reform which addresses both global developments and the structural inadequacies of the United Nations must be given priority, or the Organization may soon become incapable of addressing the real global problems of disease, hunger, poverty, development, conflict, security and national breakdown.

which can only lead to continued international chaos and decline.

As a small nation, Djibouti is a firm believer in the United Nations system. The United Nations is the most important vehicle we have today to enable us to forge a new international system anchored in justice and equity. Its survival is crucial to our well-being. Let us renew our dedication to keep this superb vessel afloat, for the consequences of not doing so would be tragic.

The President: I thank the Chairman of the Delegation of Djibouti for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Roble Olhaye, Chairman of the Delegation of Djibouti, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by Her Excellency Mrs. Annette des Iles, Chairperson of the Delegation of Trinidad and Tobago

The President: I now call on Her Excellency Mrs. Annette des Iles, Chairperson of the Delegation of Trinidad and Tobago.

Her Excellency Mrs. Annette des Iles, Chairperson of the Delegation of Trinidad and Tobago, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mrs. des Iles: I bring to the General Assembly, on the occasion of this golden-jubilee Special Commemorative Meeting, the greetings and good wishes of the Government and the people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

Fifty years ago, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the international community, "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", resolved at San Francisco to create an Organization that would establish the political, economic and social conditions for a new and lasting peace. This resolve remains as relevant and valid in 1995 as it was in 1945.

Trinidad and Tobago joined the United Nations in 1962, 17 years after this Organization had been founded. As a small, developing State we saw in the principle of collective security enshrined in the Charter a bastion for small States, whose sovereignty and strength must be sustained by the rule of law. Today, as in 1962, we reaffirm our deep commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

For Trinidad and Tobago, as for the great majority of the Member States which make up this Organization, our first responsibility is to our people: to provide an acceptable standard of living and an improved quality of life for all our citizens, including our young people and our women. It follows that in countries such as ours, this Organization will be judged largely by the extent to which it can assist in this effort. We wish to urge, therefore, that international cooperation for development be placed at the centre of the activities of the United Nations.

As we mark the fiftieth anniversary year of our Organization, the United Nations and its specialized agencies can be justifiably proud of many of their achievements, in the fields of decolonization, the eradication of apartheid, the promotion of democracy and human rights and the development of international law and the inestimable and often unheralded work done in such areas as health, education and humanitarian assistance.

There is indeed no alternative to the United Nations. Yet it is also true that, as we face the daunting array of challenges that confront today's world, there is a crisis of commitment to the United Nations, a crisis of confidence in the Organization.

Let this solemn commemoration and this fiftieth anniversary year help us to overcome our difficulties and equip the United Nations to face the future.

Let us summon the political will and determination needed in order to succeed.

Let us develop a true spirit of global partnership based on mutual trust and respect which is essential in today's global neighbourhood.

Let us imbue our deliberations with a greater sense of mission and clarity of purpose.

Let us place people, in particular, the less fortunate and the most vulnerable of the world's peoples, at the centre of our concerns.

Let us resolve to use the lessons derived from 50 years of experience to confront the myriad and complex challenges before us.

Let us not be afraid to re-examine concepts and adopt new approaches in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

Let us, above all, provide the Organization with the financial and material resources required for the many complex and varied tasks which it must perform.

The President: I thank the Chairperson of the Delegation of Trinidad and Tobago for her statement.

Her Excellency Mrs. Annette des Iles, Chairperson of the Delegation of Trinidad and Tobago, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Tuiloma Neroni Slade, Chairman of the Delegation of Samoa

The President: I now call on His Excellency Mr. Tuiloma Neroni Slade, Chairman of the Delegation of Samoa.

His Excellency Mr. Tuiloma Neroni Slade, Chairman of the Delegation of Samoa, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Slade: A better world was sought 50 years ago. There was need to restructure from the devastation of war a new order premised on peace, justice and well-being for all.

That we are able to meet here today, a vastly increased United Nations, is surely testimony to our endeavours. The dramatic transformation of the world's political map and membership of the Organization from the 51 States which first met as the General Assembly to almost fourfold today, enriched by observer States and organizations, brings us nearer to the goal of universality.

My own country, like so many in this Hall, came to independence through the process of decolonization made possible only through the central role played by the United Nations. That process was a historic achievement. The international consciousness and the moral and the political underpinnings forged are with us today. It is one of the many achievements of our first 50 years that we bear in mind as we celebrate.

Samoa judges by its experience. We found the League of Nations unresponsive and we were disillusioned. The United Nations was truer to our aspirations. Today, the United Nations remains a significant part of the modern development and progress of my country.

It is therefore with complete faith that on this occasion Samoa renews its commitment to the Charter. We do so as a small country and with abiding trust in the principles set out in the Charter. The principles are sound; what is missing is the will to apply them.

We believe very deeply in the sustaining power of international law in support of the Charter principles. The United Nations has been a necessary and a cohesive force in the elaboration of international law and the rules for international cooperation which now regulate a phenomenal range of human activity.

An important development in recent years has been the very high rate of State-party adherence to international instruments and the acceptance of international programmes on the environment and sustainable development and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and other areas.

Much more, though, is needed by way of concrete action in compliance with treaty obligations; it is also necessary to implement Agenda 21 and other agreed programmes of action like that on the sustainable development of small island states.

Samoa prays for the day of effective disarmament and the total elimination of nuclear weapons. A comprehensive treaty on the banning of nuclear testing next year is a first priority. We welcome the announced intention of France, the United Kingdom and the United States to adhere to the South Pacific nuclear-free zone Treaty. But we need to say again to France that we condemn its nuclear explosions in the Pacific. They are dangerous experiments posing a very serious threat to the health and the environment of my country and our region, and must stop. Of the entire United Nations membership, Samoa is located closest to the test site.

World peace and the conditions for peace are not to hand. Too many are without human security. We think far too much is still being spent on armies than on the environment, education and health. More than half of the world's population is without food. And some countries are three thousand times more prosperous than others. Science, technology and industrial progress remain in the hands of too few.

These are awesome challenges that must remain for tomorrow, recognizing that it is perhaps easier to diagnose the world's problems than to find the solutions, and easier to formulate solutions than to get the public to accept them. Solutions are beyond the capacity of individual States; they must remain the object of United Nations focus and action.

It is all too tempting to the sceptic to retreat from support and to lay the failures at the door of the United Nations. But it is unfair to do so. The power of correction lies not here, but in capitals. We now have an Organization structured by a few, half a century ago, that has to respond to the needs of many more, and to a world, and to world forces, which are fundamentally different and which continue to change. It needs to be reformed and assured the financial resources it needs, and strengthened to prepare it for the years ahead.

Membership of the Security Council must be enlarged to reflect the realities of the present time and to enhance its effectiveness and legitimacy.

Assuredly, this also is an occasion of thanksgiving — to the Secretary-General, and all who support him at Headquarters, to the entire United Nations staff worldwide, and to all Member States who toil in this Hall and in many similar halls all over the world, daily, year in, year out.

We do not make little of the disappointments and of the failures. But, with the five decades of achievements, and a world of infinite promise, Samoa is very firmly of the view that the future is on the side of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the Chairman of the Delegation of Samoa for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Tuiloma Neroni Slade, Chairman of the Delegation of Samoa, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Aboul-Nasr, Chairman of the Delegation of the League of Arab States

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 49/12 A, I call on the next speaker, His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Aboul-Nasr, Chairman of the Delegation of the League of Arab States.

His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Aboul-Nasr, Chairman of the Delegation of the League of Arab States, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Aboul-Nasr (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Arab States celebrate two important occasions this year. While we participate in the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we have celebrated, very recently, the fiftieth anniversary of the League of Arab States, the Arab regional organization which was born just a few months before the establishment of the United Nations. The League's charter included many principles and purposes that were proclaimed shortly thereafter by the Charter of the United Nations. The Arab States participated in the drafting of the United Nations Charter and have taken part in the work of the Organization for the past 50 years. Today, the Arab States, like all other Member States, look forward to a new phase, a phase in which, we hope, peace and justice will prevail and in which human rights and man's fundamental freedoms will be respected all over the world. We look forward to a new phase in which the old colonialist concepts will disappear together with the logic of aggression, the use of force and the occupation of the lands of others.

We look forward, at the threshold of the third millennium, to an era in which every nation would be able to enjoy social and genuine cultural and economic development; an era in which every State would abide by the United Nations Charter; an era in which every United Nations resolution would be implemented without distinction and without the application of double standards; an era in which every people without distinction, would enjoy just and lasting peace; an era in which every State would support the efforts of the United Nations and share in improving its performance so that it may be able to do all that is expected of it, especially in the areas of peacemaking, peace-keeping and prosperity.

We look forward to a United Nations that will build on its undeniable achievements in such areas as decolonization, the codification of the norms of cooperation between States in many areas, such as the environment, outer space, the seas, human rights, trade and arms control, and many others. Those past achievements of the United Nations are a source of hope. They strengthen our resolve to score further successes.

While we in the Arab world would welcome all the steps that have been taken towards the achievement of a peaceful settlement to the Palestinian question and the

Middle East problem, we look forward to the completion of the steps needed for the establishment in our region of a just and lasting peace that would be founded on the principles decided by the United Nations. We are determined to oppose the attempts to marginalize the Organization's important role in the quest for the desired solutions. No matter what sort of criticism might be levelled at the United Nations, we cannot but recognize that the Organization has been and will continue to be the international forum wherein all States can participate in promoting the sort of international relations that would be based on justice and equality.

Today, as we congratulate the Organization on the passage of 50 years since its establishment, we must seize the unique opportunity of the presence of such an impressive number of Heads of State and Government to take stock of the realities of the new international milieu we all live in particularly in the light of the fundamental changes that have taken place over the past few years. In so doing, we have to benefit from the object-lessons of the past, cherish the achievements that have been made and, thereby, manage to enrich the twenty-first century with a United Nations that is adequately equipped with the means and the machineries that would enable it to serve the peoples in whose name it was created.

In conclusion, may I, on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Arab League, extend to you, Mr. President, and to the United Nations Secretary-General our most sincere congratulations, and assurances of the Arab League's continued cooperation with this international Organization in the service of the common cause of the two organizations: peace and development.

The President: I thank the Chairman of the Delegation of the League of Arab States for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Mahmoud Aboul-Nasr, Chairman of the Delegation of the League of Arab States, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Hans van den Broek, member of the European Commission

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 49/12 A, I now call on His Excellency Mr. Hans van den Broek, Member of the European Commission, on behalf of the European Community.

His Excellency Mr. Hans van den Broek, member of the European Commission, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. van den Broek: It is an honour to address this Assembly on behalf of the European Community. It is indeed a unique opportunity to highlight the achievements of the United Nations and to give new impetus to its future work.

Undoubtedly the achievements of the past are impressive. The United Nations has contributed vastly to the maintenance of international peace and security, and it has been a vital player in the fields of disarmament, non-proliferation and development cooperation. The United Nations has been at the forefront in the promotion of human rights, the eradication of disease and the protection of the environment. The United Nations has been playing a crucial role in alleviating the plight of refugees and in supplying humanitarian aid all over the world. It has embodied some of the purest and noblest aspirations of mankind's perennial quest for freedom and prosperity.

I would therefore like to pay tribute to the United Nations and to its successive Secretaries-General for all that has been achieved despite so many difficulties and obstacles.

But the present agenda of the United Nations has become more complex and more demanding than at any other time in the Organization's history. Instability has entrenched itself in many parts of the world. We have been witnessing the revival of nationalisms, of ethnic cleansing, of unprecedented humanitarian crises, of gross violations of human rights, and even of genocide. The world therefore needs the United Nations today more than ever — a strong and effective United Nations adapted to the new agenda, unhampered by the ideological controversies of the past.

However, the United Nations can only be as strong and effective as its Members permit. This also applies to its financial means. It would indeed be more than appropriate to mark this commemoration by putting the Organization again on a sound financial footing.

The European Community has frequently expressed its full support for United Nations ideals and action. When the United Nations was established half a century ago it enshrined the hopes of people who wished to prevent war, who had faith in human rights and who

were committed to economic and social progress. Those who founded the European Community were driven by a similar vision. Hence, it was natural to develop a close partnership with the United Nations.

This partnership has been translated into many hard facts. Let me mention just a few of them. The European Community, through its Humanitarian Office, is the second-largest single contributor to, and operational partner in, the work of the High Commissioner for Refugees and is one of the largest donors to the World Food Programme. Half of the world's trade subject to preferential treatment for developing countries is being carried out by the Community. The European Community and its member States give about half of the world's total official development assistance.

We must now agree on an innovative agenda for development. This agenda must, as far as we are concerned, send two strong messages. The first message is of the crucial need to put international cooperation for development at the centre of our common endeavours. The second message concerns the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in development. Our efforts will build upon the outcome of recent global conferences. Economic growth, social justice, the empowerment of women, the protection of the environment, democratic institutions and the promotion of all human rights must be seen as fundamental components of a common vision for a sustainable development.

The Commission of the European Union is determined to enhance its support for the United Nations. Our aim is to make the Organization more effective, more capable of shaping a better and safer world and more operational in ensuring freedom and prosperity for all.

The President: I thank the Member of the European Commission, speaking on behalf of the European Community, for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Hans van den Broek, Member of the European Commission, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Emile-Derlin Zinsou, President of the Permanent Council of Francophonie

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 49/12 A, I now call on His Excellency Mr. Emile-Derlin Zinsou, President of the Permanent Council of Francophonie, on behalf of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation.

His Excellency Mr. Emile-Derlin Zinsou, President of the Permanent Council of Francophonie, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Zinsou (*interpretation from French*): Not long ago, this Assembly considered a draft resolution, submitted by the group of countries whose common language is French, concerning cooperation between the United Nations and the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation. In adopting that resolution, the Assembly demonstrated its interest in the community of francophone countries, which I represent here today. I extend our warmest thanks.

I am greatly honoured to tell this Assembly of the sustained attention with which the 47 States and Governments that make up our community follow and support, within the framework of the francophone community, the aims and initiatives of this Organization, to which I pay a solemn tribute and whose vitality on the eve of the third millennium is so clearly reflected in the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary today.

The francophone community sees itself above all as a place of solidarity. It finds unity in the diversity of its membership, which extends to every continent. In this United Nations, a lofty forum for dialogue, and especially for North-South dialogue, my presence attests to one of the fundamental dimensions of that community, most of whose members are from the South. The principal aim of our solidarity is development, the key factor for stability and security in today's world.

We wish our activities to be consonant with the crises besetting the contemporary world. We are devoting our priority efforts to promoting democracy, the rule of law and human rights, in the belief that no society can evolve towards economic and human development without a stable and legally appropriate policy framework. In this regard, we are striving to direct our efforts increasingly towards conflict prevention. The francophone community intends shortly to step up its efforts in this field.

We wish to be ready to meet the major challenges of the twenty-first century, such as control of demographic shifts, the maintenance of peace, environmental protection or the struggle against such terrible scourges as AIDS and drugs. Our presence in

Rio, Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing at the world conferences organized by the United Nations on problems familiar to us all and our community's contribution to building the consensuses achieved there and their follow-up attest to that resolve.

We are aware of the difficulties and even the paradoxes involved in many situations. Let me cite but two examples on my own continent, Africa. How can we fail to see that the movement towards democracy, so eagerly initiated, has bogged down in ever-proliferating conflicts? How can one fail to note that the efforts being made to protect the environment are being increasingly hampered by drought, famine and creeping desertification in our countries?

Such examples enable us to gauge the uncertain results of our efforts, but we are all the more resolved to pursue them, knowing that they are shared, with the same determination, by the entire international community. Moreover, by honouring us with his presence at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of the countries with French as a common language, which was held in October 1993 in Mauritius, the Secretary-General gave us the opportunity to define our common ground and to confirm the francophone community's full support for his work. I wish here once again to pay a tribute to his endeavours and to tell him how enthusiastically we look forward to reaffirming our support for him at the forthcoming summit to be hosted by my country, the Republic of Benin, in early December 1995.

The extent to which the objectives of our group and those of the United Nations coincide is evident. It has become even more apparent since the francophone community strengthened its political activities by initiating the summit meetings of Heads of State and Government. This common ground must become even more tangible from this day forth. The member countries of the francophone world, together with the entire international community, would greatly benefit thereby.

It is true that the francophone countries are relying on their specific solidarity — the foundation of their union on the basis of their mission, the francophone movement — in order to create an entity for cooperation that can act as a credible partner in the new world order. But their future remains closely linked to that of the entire international community. The interdependence which today more than ever is a feature of international relations makes the development of some dependent on that of the rest. This encompasses all the problems of globalization and marginalization to which the Secretary-General has referred with such conviction in his address at this Commemorative Meeting.

It is in this spirit that the francophone community is preparing to play an active role at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Istanbul next year. The value of that Conference and the issues at stake cannot leave us indifferent. Indeed, they touch on the very context within which our societies will evolve in the future.

We wish this shared aspiration to be squarely placed in the common service of progress, peace and development in the world. This is the role and duty which the francophone community increasingly seeks to perform in the family of nations. It is the meaning of the resolution adopted by our Heads of State and Government in Mauritius on francophonie and international relations, in which they reaffirmed their resolute support, alongside other international bodies, for the efforts to find appropriate solutions to major political and economic problems affecting the contemporary world and stated their determination to develop, alongside and within those bodies and during the great world Conferences, continued and enhanced francophone cooperation.

This is the objective of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation in establishing representations with international organizations in Geneva since 1991, in Brussels since last year and, most recently, in New York with the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Our message is thus a message of hope in the future of the United Nations and of our own resolve fully to participate in the universal consciousness that shines over the work of the United Nations. It is our purpose thereby to contribute to the great value of this institution as a meeting place for the world's cultures and civilizations and the instrument of choice for the advancement of peace and development in the world.

The President: I thank the President of the Permanent Council of Francophonie, speaking on behalf of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation, for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Emile-Derlin Zinsou, President of the Permanent Council of Francophonie, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 49/12 A, I now call on His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Anyaoku: A decade ago, in commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, Commonwealth leaders, in their Nassau Declaration on World Order, affirmed their commitment to the goal of strengthening the United Nations system as the central instrument of peace, security and cooperation. On this historic fiftieth anniversary, I am honoured to reaffirm that solemn commitment and support.

The Commonwealth has representation from every continent. It includes people of the world's major races, religions, cultures and traditions. Its member countries are at every stage of socio-economic development and comprise more than one quarter of the United Nation's membership. The Commonwealth is, therefore, more than a regional group; it is a global sub-system in the world community.

The importance which Commonwealth Governments accord to the United Nations is a testimony of their commitment to multilateralism. Commonwealth leaders were among the visionaries who framed and signed the United Nations Charter. And Commonwealth countries continue to contribute to the work of the Organization in many significant areas, including peace-keeping operations, in which Commonwealth countries rank among the leading troop contributors.

The Charter of the United Nations has endured for 50 years and provided inspiration for many seminal achievements. To mention but a few, the United Nations has contributed to the process of decolonization; provided a means of conflict resolution and containment; facilitated the development and extension of international law; and provided a means of mobilizing world concern and action on a range of global problems such as the environment, disarmament, trade and development, and human rights.

In the dramatically transformed global environment of the post-cold-war era, the Organization has been obliged to make unprecedented and far-reaching decisions in response to the mounting incidence of intra-State conflict and strife. International attention is rightly focusing not only on how to tackle such situations, but, more important, on how to prevent them from arising in the first place.

Faced with new challenges and opportunities, it is right that the reform and adaptation of the United Nations should have become a pressing priority. Numerous proposals have been made for structural, programmatic and managerial reform of the United Nations, its organs and its agencies, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Bretton Woods institutions. But, whatever the merit of any individual proposals, the underlying imperative must be a recognition that the institutions and arrangements fashioned 50 years ago, in the age of colonialism and in the aftermath of a hugely destructive world war, are scarcely adequate to the demands of the present age. That is why the Commonwealth supports meaningful and speedy reform. A strong and effective United Nations is crucial to building a more humane world order.

The United Nations is the globe's only truly universal Organization, held by Member States in trust for the world's people. We hold firmly that the effectiveness of the Organization is directly linked to the commitment and support of its constituents. The commitment of all Member States — including those of the Commonwealth — to the United Nations should reflect their determination to strengthen it and make it the dynamic and strong Organization which they have consistently advocated.

And so, as we celebrate this fiftieth anniversary, the task before Member States is to enhance the capacity of the Organization to respond to the problems at hand. This requires us to update its system and to ensure that we meet our obligations to enable it to face the challenges of the next 50 years.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat for his statement.

His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, was escorted from the rostrum.

The President: Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to ask all members and delegations to be very punctual tomorrow at 10 a.m. and at 3 p.m., because tomorrow we have, as the Assembly knows, the longest list of speakers and therefore we need punctuality even more than today and yesterday.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

United Nations A/50/PV.39

General Assembly

Fiftieth Session

Official Records

39th plenary meeting
Tuesday, 24 October 1995, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Freitas do Amaral . . . . . (Portugal)

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Agenda item 29 *(continued)*

Commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations

Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations

The President: This morning we hold the fifth meeting of the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Let me begin by reminding all delegations that today is 24 October, the fiftieth birthday of the United Nations. I would like to stress this fact, and to express the hope that our final meetings of today will help us celebrate these 50 years of the life of the Organization. All the peoples of the world, who join with us in this commemoration, hope that the United Nations will be able to continue to serve humanity so nobly in the future.

Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to make an announcement regarding the programme of the last meeting of the Special Commemorative Meeting this afternoon.

After hearing statements by all Member States, the Assembly will proceed to take action on the draft resolution which appears in paragraph 2 of the report (A/50/48) of the Preparatory Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations and which contains the Declaration on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations.

The Declaration is expected to be adopted by acclamation.

Thereafter, the Assembly will hear the remaining speakers, and the Secretary-General and I will make closing statements.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan, President of the Republic of Suriname

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan, President of the Republic of Suriname.

His Excellency Mr. Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan, President of the Republic of Suriname, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Venetiaan: It is an honour for me to address the General Assembly today, on the birthday of the United Nations. In the past 50 years the United Nations has guided the peoples of the world past the cliffs of the cold war between East and West, through regional conflicts and the many eruptions of uncounted dormant controversies among groups within a given nation, and also through the dark depths of poverty, disease, discrimination and ignorance.

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In confronting these challenges the United Nations has given individuals and institutions, Governments and non-governmental organizations the opportunity to come forward and distinguish themselves as true servants of humanity, and as workers for peace, for justice and for well-being. The contribution of our Organization of nations has ensured that the suffering of the world owing to natural disasters and caused by human beings themselves has not become a source of despair for humanity. The endeavours of the United Nations have generated positive expectations for harmony among human beings and for harmony between humankind and nature.

In this spirit, the Government and the people of Suriname congratulate the United Nations on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, and, filled with hope, they face the future together with the Organization. This, however, does not mean that Suriname wishes to ignore the reality of the many threats which endanger our world and the problems the United Nations has to face within its own structure.

There are still many obstacles to overcome in the political, economic and social spheres and in the quest of the international community for a more just, equitable, secure, peaceful and democratic world. The eruption of extreme nationalism, ethnic strife and excessive religious zeal multiplies tension, tears societies and States apart, and threatens world security. Economic and social imbalances still deprive the majority of humankind of development and progress.

Agreed strategies, such as those aimed at curbing population growth or at protecting the environment, are sometimes, for reasons of political or economic competition, affected by hidden agendas, with a view to controlling the political and economic progress of developing countries.

The United Nations system has proven to be a major mechanism at the international level, creative enough to put a common vision and a common approach into effect through multilateral cooperation combining collective action with respect for national sovereignty.

We call upon the international community to contribute fully to the definition and implementation of the new role of the United Nations, which undoubtedly is of a humanitarian nature, and aims at protecting and preserving life on our planet and at raising the standard of living of all peoples, through the establishment of a new, balanced and equitable international economic and social order.

There is no doubt that unless we overcome and rectify certain shortcomings of the United Nations, this Organization will not be able to play its fundamental role in the management of the new world order; neither will it be able to realize its noble principles. Thus, a most urgent task for the international community now is to reinvigorate, restructure and democratize the United Nations and to give it a sound a financial basis for the fulfilment of old and new tasks, in order to relieve international relations of suspicion and hostility, to bring an end to violence, and to fully activate the creative potential of the United Nations for the sound development of the peoples of the world.

We, the family of nations, with political will and in a spirit of understanding, can successfully chart the course of the world towards an order which will be more responsive to the needs and interests of humankind.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Suriname for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan, President of the Republic of Suriname, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Ramiro De León Carpio, President of the Republic of Guatemala

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Ramiro De León Carpio, President of the Republic of Guatemala.

His Excellency Mr. Ramiro De León Carpio, President of the Republic of Guatemala, was escorted to the rostrum.

President De León Carpio (*interpretation from Spanish*): Guatemala, which has participated in the work of the United Nations from the first, is present today at this unique congress, which has brought together world leaders to reaffirm the purposes and principles of the San Francisco Charter. The founders were mindful of the tragedy of the two world wars; to ward off similar wars, they created a forum for dialogue and the harmonization of policies, set forth principles for the peaceful settlement of disputes and charged an executive body with responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. But they also sought to create a new order based on justice for all peoples and nations great and small, affirming their common right to live in the same conditions of security, harmony and freedom.

There can never be justice or peace if we deny the right of every human being and every nation to engage in dialogue on a footing of equality and above all to enjoy the identical dignity without which no member of our species can truly be free, without the shackles of poverty and without the bitterness of the hatred engendered by inequality. This is why we believe that universal representation should prevail at the United Nations, without any kind of exclusion.

Let us begin, then, by recognizing that we still have some way to go before we can affirm that peace has been attained. We still endure bloody conflicts that must be brought to an end once and for all, because they are anachronistic, because they are anti-economic, because they are unjust, because they are immoral, but above all because they are inhuman. But peace is not merely the absence of war. Peace is also economic and social, and in this connection we, the least developed nations, have merely asked to be allowed to compete in conditions of fairness, so that our products may have access to the market without being subject to any unjustifiable barriers or conditions not based on economic considerations.

His Holiness Pope John Paul II, who in this Hall made a dramatic appeal for an end to injustice between men and between nations, affirmed that development is the new name of peace. It will never be possible to achieve this peace unless the national policies of the strongest and most powerful countries are promptly transformed into positive action towards democratic consolidation, leading, certainly, to economic globalization, but also to political and social globalization; ensuring economic growth, but growth with a human and a social face, enabling poor countries to attain the true independence and sovereign equality to which we are all fully entitled.

We are met to evaluate our Organization; we must admit our mistakes, and learn from them, but we must also recognize the effects of a general peace, which give us the time and space to address the human problems of poverty, inequality and injustice, which from the very birth of this institution have been an essential part of its agenda, but which still recur with tragic frequency.

With the fall of the Berlin wall the cold war came to an end without bloodshed. We face a new reality that lays a heavy responsibility on large economic blocs, which must have due regard for the ordeals our societies have endured. Above all, we must recall the tragic lessons we have learned and realize that justice cannot be built on inequality, that, similarly, peace cannot be built on hatred, and that democracy can be made effective and functional only through the sum of the actions we take to promote it, without ever resorting to the excuse that we have started a war or committed an injustice to preserve that democracy.

I wish finally to say that soon the people of Guatemala will freely elect a new Chief Executive, to whom I shall hand over the presidency, with the satisfaction of having headed a transitional Government that has fulfilled the primary mandate with which it was entrusted — to rescue, preserve and strengthen institutional legality and democracy, both of which had been seriously impaired — and also with the satisfaction of having, through the democratic process of consulting the people, removed corrupt members of Congress and the Supreme Court from office. I shall relinquish the presidency with the satisfaction of being able to say to the world that, by dint of strenuous efforts, we have made headway in the observance of human rights, which have suffered such serious breaches in Guatemala. We are still experiencing difficulties; but Guatemala is not what it used to be. I shall, finally, leave office with the further satisfaction of having strengthened civilian authority, assigning to the army the role that it should play in a democratic system, and initiating national reconciliation. To this should be added my satisfaction at having fought poverty, corruption, drug-related activities, terrorism and impunity.

But having expressed my satisfaction at these favourable developments, as President of all Guatemalans and as ex-Ombudsman for human rights I must also share with you the anguish and sadness I feel because my countrymen continue to suffer death, desolation, destruction and the bereavement of widows and orphans, all of which is the result of a foreign war that hurled us into the vortex of an internal conflict that has raged for 35 years. This entitles me to make a fervent appeal to the General Assembly for this community to strengthen and support us in our ongoing peace process, not only by fulfilling the institutional obligation that the Organization has assumed, but also with the open hand of international solidarity in the political and economic fields.

Human life is being lost. The guns must fall silent.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Guatemala for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Ramiro De León Carpio, President of the Republic of Guatemala, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. José María Figueres, President of the Republic of Costa Rica

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. José María Figueres, President of the Republic of Costa Rica.

His Excellency Mr. José María Figueres, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Figueres *(interpretation from Spanish):* We have come here to celebrate together 50 years of the United Nations. Many of us agree that this is the right time to pause and consider the achievements and the shortcomings of this Organization. It is also an excellent opportunity to look at new dreams and challenges for the future.

We all recognize that in these past 50 years the United Nations has, at decisive moments, been able to tilt the world towards peace and solidarity.

Costa Rica has participated from the beginning as a founder of this Organization. Trusting in it, we abolished our army two years after the founding of the United Nations. Since then we have lived in peace. Not having an army has enabled us to invest more resources in health, education and housing. According to United Nations indicators, this year Costa Rica came first in human development in Latin America.

When, in Costa Rica, we were thinking about how to celebrate this fiftieth anniversary which has brought us together today, we had the idea of proclaiming an international week for peace. Our proposal was approved unanimously by all the countries represented here, and we would like to thank those who joined in or supported this initiative, which begins today.

In these 50 years, and particularly in the last few years, the region of Central America has also made major progress. We have moved from an authoritarian Central America divided by war to a democratic and united Central America which today is building its future through a regional alliance for sustainable development.

Its central objective is the greater well-being of our people. It therefore includes the preservation of the cultural identity of indigenous peoples and the full involvement of women in the development process. This latter aspect may be one of the most powerful instruments for combatting poverty. But the alliance goes further: looking to the future, it includes universal environmental concerns such as the preservation of biodiversity, the ozone layer and the seas.

This fiftieth anniversary comes at a time of transition for the world, and also coincides with Costa Rica's assumption of the presidency of the Group of 77 and China for the coming year. The Group of 77, which was born within the context of the United Nations to combat economic injustices among strong and weaker nations, already has a distinguished history. Yet, on the threshold of a new millennium, its main challenge persists and its dreams have not yet come true.

The trend towards the globalization of the economy could generate advantages for all humanity. But the struggle between powerful trade blocs has increased the injustices among nations. Much is being said today about free trade, but in actual fact those countries that have less not only have to struggle over prices for their products, but they also have to face new trade barriers. They are required to comply very strictly with international norms, while the more powerful are allowed to depart from the agreements they have signed.

We must not give up on the dreams of the Group of 77 and China. We must reaffirm those dreams, and we must find new ways of making them come true.

Accordingly, the United Nations must strengthen the forums for negotiation, dialogue and the quest for agreement. To remain true to the spirit of San Francisco, which gave birth to this Organization, it must not remain neutral or passive in the face of major conflicts. Rather, it should do more. The new challenges include assuming responsibility for protecting and preserving global assets. Only an Organization that represents equally all the peoples of the earth can be successful in this undertaking. We dream of a United Nations that encourages forums of cooperation among all nations to reduce the greenhouse effect, to save, study and make use of the biodiversity of the planet, to decontaminate the seas and, thereby, to ensure the greater well-being of present and future generations.

Today let us think of our peoples. Let us renew our commitment to work in the United Nations to move towards a world of peace, equity and solidarity, advancing along the road towards sustainable development.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Costa Rica for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. José María Figueres, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Ernesto Perez Balladares, President of the Republic of Panama

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Ernesto Perez Balladares, President of the Republic of Panama.

His Excellency Mr. Ernesto Perez Balladares, President of the Republic of Panama, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Perez Balladares *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Events such as this are taking place these days in many of our countries, including my own, not so much to mark an anniversary as to thank the United Nations for all it has done in helping to fashion today's world.

Injustice still persists, poverty is endemic in vast regions of the world, respect for human rights for many of its inhabitants is no more than a dream and wars have not completely vanished. But, despite this apparently bleak picture, we should ask ourselves what our world would be like with the destructive power of nuclear weapons and without the United Nations.

The genuinely far-reaching importance of the Organization can be measured not in terms that are quantifiable, but in terms of intangible but real values: the wars that were never fought, the victims that never died because of them, the children who were not orphaned because their parents did not have to die in a war that no one understood.

When we look at the record of these 50 years, many will say that the Organization has been an arena for sterile debate, but it is preferable for the world to have a forum in which conflicts can spend themselves in words rather than constantly to seek battlefields on which to resolve disputes of its own invention. It is better for the world to have an Organization awash with words rather than battlefields strewn with the dead.

Panama is a signatory of the Organization's Charter and enjoys the rare honour of having had a Security Council meeting take place on its soil, for when every diplomatic channel seemed closed to my country the holding of a Council meeting away from Headquarters brought Panama's claims concerning the Canal to the world's attention to an unprecedented degree. A few years later we saw the conclusion of negotiations which terminated a colonial jurisdiction, known as the Canal Zone, and we are now about to begin — it will happen before the end of the century — to operate and administer the inter-oceanic waterway. For this reason we also ask ourselves whether our future would today be as promising had this forum not existed, this unique body in which the rift of differences, however wide, can be bridged and in which discussions can take place between Governments on an equal footing however unequal they may be in terms of wealth or military might.

It is not the world that has grown since Panama together with some 50 other countries, signed the United Nations Charter 50 years ago. What has grown is the number of States that have become independent and welcomed into this Organization; what has grown is the hopes of millions of young people no longer faced with the cruel prospect of dying in senseless and meaningless wars. What perhaps best demonstrates the changes that the world has undergone in this half century since the Second World War is that two of the nations upon whose military defeats the Organization was based today justifiably aspire to become permanent members of the Security Council, and that the language of exclusion has given way to the of universalization of this body.

Our commitment to the United Nations is to help make its mission effective in the next 50 years. We do the Organization no service by blaming it for its mistakes or being content with its many successes. The Organization helped to heal the wounds of a world war; now it must help to bridge the ever-widening technological and educational gulf between its Member nations. The poor countries — the majority of the countries — do not aspire to bring their armies up to the levels of the military Powers, but they have abundant reason for hoping that the insuperable gap in terms of technology and military power will not also become an unbridgeable educational abyss.

If this purpose is fulfilled to an acceptable degree, those who come here to celebrate the centenary of the Organization in the year 2045 will have as many reasons for being grateful to it as today's generation has, for having spared the world the horrors of a war which might well have spelt the end of mankind.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Panama for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Ernesto Perez Balladares, President of the Republic of Panama, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela.

His Excellency Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Caldera *(interpretation from Spanish)*: On 11 November 1918 the world joyfully greeted the end of the First World War. The winner set themselves the goal of laying the foundation for everlasting peace. The League of Nations was created in Geneva; political maps were modified, great empires were broken up and the principle of nationalities was applied to establish the limits of States.

Twenty years later a conflagration broke out, of such magnitude that the horrors of the earlier war seemed to pale in comparison. When this conflict ended there was enormous fear of a relapse. A third world war would inevitably have meant the total annihilation of the human race. The weapons of destruction went beyond what man's imagination could have conceived. Astonishingly, man revealed himself capable of successfully devising the instruments for his own destruction.

Simply having avoided the dreadful possibility of a new catastrophe is sufficient justification for this celebration today. There are reasons to congratulate ourselves on this meaningful fiftieth anniversary, in whose success we all share fully. We cannot deny that the threat of nuclear war was a decisive factor for peace, but so also was the existence of this forum, where all nations, large and small, from all continents and of all ethnic descents, can state their views, their demands, their aspirations and their complaints.

The unexpected end of the cold war opened the door to new dreams. However, subsequent events have shown the need to face new and emerging situations across the world so that peace, the fundamental purpose of the Organization, may be strengthened and built on secure and stable foundations.

A new half century is beginning for the United Nations. We must prepare the Organization for a new era with a new agenda. We must analyse in depth the causes of instability and find ways of ensuring peace. The Holy Father, John Paul II, spoke in this very forum of the need to guarantee the human rights of nations in order to complement the human rights of people, proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of 1948.

I believe that among the human rights of nations, we should give special attention to those relating to international social justice which recognizes the right of every people to promote its development on its own terms and to request that the international community remove obstacles such as the burden of external debt and make available the tools needed to contribute to universal well-being.

After the First World War, when the roar of the cannons could still be heard, world leaders understood the importance of social justice and created the International Labour Organization, which survived the League of Nations. During the Second World War, thinking that victory was imminent, the leaders of the allied countries, traumatized by the intensity of the conflict, declared in Philadelphia that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger for the prosperity of all. This should not be forgotten. It would be criminal and suicidal to ignore it.

It is naive to think that the free interplay of economic forces, whose importance we admit, would be sufficient to eradicate poverty. This has been recognized by the United Nations. We are more conscious of the fact that the human element is fundamental to its existence. Many of us are willing to fight for the poor, even at the risk of being called "populists". We must fight against both the effects and the causes of poverty. We cannot simply disregard the conviction that justice is the basis of peace. And social justice is an important aspect of justice. On the other hand, experience worldwide points to another potential threat: corruption in all forms and shapes, which results in the denial of justice. Repressing corruption requires not only the decision of every State, but also international solidarity. Yet, repressing it is not

enough: we must prevent it. We must rescue ethical values for humanity.

So, let us speak frankly: antagonisms of all sorts, poverty, especially abject poverty, selfishness and corruption, which eat away at our conscience and destroy institutions, all represent the most serious threat to peace. The peoples are eagerly waiting for us to assume our responsibility of facing up to these dangers not in word only but in deed.

Antagonism, injustice, poverty and corruption are the greatest enemies that we must fight in the new half-century that is now dawning for the United Nations. It is time to stand up to those enemies, to turn our good intentions into reality. Let us then work to fulfil our duty, target our action and make it effective.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Venezuela for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Rafael Caldera, President of the Republic of Venezuela, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Albert Zafy, President of the Republic of Madagascar

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Albert Zafy, President of the Republic of Madagascar.

His Excellency Mr. Albert Zafy, President of the Republic of Madagascar, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Zafy (*interpretation from French*): I am gratified to have this opportunity to attend this assembly of nations and I join with everyone here in celebrating this great event, the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. Fifty years! We are no longer young, but neither are we old yet. This is maturity, an age replete with usefulness and reason, the result of a wealth of experience garnered over half a century.

The rapid recovery of the nations ruined by six years of war, the end of the cold war and the spectacular collapse of the Berlin Wall are some of the events that fuelled people's hopes for a better world, a world from which war, poverty, destitution and all forms of exploitation would be banished for ever and where respect for rights, real and not simply theoretical equality between nations, small and large, would prevail.

But, we are bound to acknowledge that it is still a great step from precept to practice, from slogan to deed.

Thus, in our humble opinion, this anniversary provides us with an opportunity to take stock of the last half-century and to examine together ways and means to influence the course of the coming years to ensure that this Organization can genuinely live up to the expectations of all the peoples of the world that yearn for peace, equality, respect for human life, and peaceful technological progress.

This special meeting of nations should not be merely a symbolic and ritual commemoration — it should provide an opportunity to take stock and reflect on a new strategy for security, development and the future of democracy inside and outside our Organization.

For its part, Madagascar fully supports reform of the United Nations that is consistent with its true vocation. We should give the General Assembly, the most representative body of Members opinions, adequate powers, expand the Security Council on the basis of geographical distribution so that it may truly become a body for implementing General Assembly resolutions and reflect equality, and hence, democracy. Exercise of the right of veto is anti-democratic and therefore anachronistic.

Poverty, drugs, the debt burden, the increase of fundamentalism, xenophobia, regional conflicts and unemployment are the evils dogging this century, the fruits of social injustice and economic imbalance.

There was a time when we feared the "yellow peril". Now, our fears are focused on the "black peril" or the "coffee-coloured peril" with regard to immigrants in Europe. In the short term, this anxiety could help the third world. The risk of destabilization as a result of immigration has heightened the awareness of many people in favour of increased development assistance for the third world to stem this exodus to rich countries.

Many voices, including in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have been heard sounding an alarm to alert decision-makers to tackle the root of the problem by investing more, for example, in the social sphere. But, there is a school of thought that opposes the 20/20 initiative that has been adopted by the United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Population Fund, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture

Organization of the United Nations and UNESCO to free up sufficient resources and which advocates budget reductions arguing that the needed financial resources are not available.

It is deplorable to note that special or national interests sometimes prevail over the sense of solidarity that increasing interdependence requires.

As a result of the global context we must provide the United Nations with the resources it needs to be able to carry out its essential tasks, which are to ensure peace, promote development and serve democracy.

The third world faces many constraints. The application of the widely advocated concept of good governance with less emphasis on traditional donor assistance is not impartial: it is very flexible and indulgent when it comes to countries with strategic raw materials, but strict and restrictive when it comes to others.

Docility or passivity is often highly regarded; expressing criticism puts you in the category of naughty student. The perverse effects of economic embargoes harm the innocent civilian population more than those they are intended to punish. By contrast, a firm approach should be the rule in the case of arms embargoes.

On the threshold of the twenty-first century, the United Nations finds itself at a new crossroads. It is clear that changes must be introduced in our Organization, which was conceived 50 years ago in a totally different political and economic context.

Our determination to work to that end will be the best response both to the anxieties of the developing world, which has doubts about the solidity of the North's commitment to contribute to solving the problem of development, and to the demands of public opinion in the developed countries, which is concerned to see development assistance put to proper use. Consensus on the steps to be taken would restore confidence in the future of the United Nations.

Allow me to express my great pleasure at seeing all of you here at this session of the General Assembly to which the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has so kindly invited us. I pay tribute to his competence, his devotion and his keen sense of responsibility. I thank him for the remarkably successful organization of this Special Meeting.

I am also pleased to congratulate the City of New York and its Mayor, Mr. Giuliani, and his team for the success of our stay in the "Big Apple" of New York.

I should also like to pay tribute to the President of the United States of America for his benevolent support for the convening of this commemoration of the United Nations fiftieth anniversary.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Madagascar for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Albert Zafy, President of the Republic of Madagascar, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia.

His Excellency Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Ochirbat *(spoke in Mongolian; English text furnished by the delegation)*: The United Nations, having risen from the ashes of the most devastating war in the history of humankind, is today celebrating its golden anniversary with a renewed sense of purpose and confidence in the future.

From a distance of 50 years one could reasonably argue that there were no victors or vanquished in that war and that the sole winner was the entire human race. But the 50 million who perished in it will always be a stark reminder of the imperative still fundamental today, namely, perseverance in our collective efforts to achieve peace, progress and social justice. I say this in the name of a country that stood by the Allied forces and did all it could to facilitate the victory over fascism and militarism.

The second half of this century will go down in the annals of history as a time of great victories of human genius, of the triumphant struggles of peoples for freedom, independence and democracy, of a dawning realization of the humanistic ideals of equity, justice and human rights. In all these truly revolutionizing processes the part played by the United Nations has indeed been instrumental.

This half century will also be remembered as a time of tremendous waste of human creativity and energy for purposes of destruction, a time of rising disparities between nations, of flagrant abuse of nature and its finite resources and, above all, of unprecedented loss of human lives and human deprivation despite the infinite possibilities opened up by revolutions in science and technology. This turbulent world of glaring contrasts, having moved beyond the cold war, has now entered a new stage of rapid changes in its development.

Challenging as it may be, history is offering us a unique opportunity for a genuine realization of the lofty objectives and ideals conceived by the founders of the United Nations. This calls insistently for a bold reform of the Organization. It goes without saying that the underlying purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter should constitute the foundation of any and all change. The reform process should embrace the entire United Nations system. Democratization, transparency, accountability, and due consideration of the positions of all should be at the heart of reform. Reform especially concerns the Security Council. In our view, this soul-searching undertaking should lead us to an Organization that is more sensitive to and protective of the needs and interests of the smaller and weaker majority.

The United Nations is all too often criticized and blamed for every ill and wrong. But it is all too often forgotten that the effectiveness of our Organization directly depends on the political will of its Member States. The United Nations is not only a rostrum for us to express our thoughts but, as a centre for harmonizing our actions and positions, it should also provide the model criteria for constructive negotiations.

In our view, it is imperative to make the mechanism for the pacific settlement of disputes work. This could include, *inter alia*, the further development and implementation of ground rules that would help ensure that negotiations are conducted solely and exclusively on the basis of good will and respect for the sovereign and equal rights of all participants, unimpeded by any actions designed to disrupt them, poison their atmosphere or attain unilateral concessions through pressure. We believe that this is an important issue that deserves due consideration by the General Assembly.

In conclusion, may I reaffirm Mongolia's determination to join with other sister nations in our common endeavour to bequeath to succeeding generations a world that is peaceful, prosperous, pluralist and humane.

The President: I thank the President of Mongolia for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, President of Mongolia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China.

His Excellency Mr. Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Jiang Zemin *(interpretation from Chinese)*: In a few years' time mankind will bid farewell to the twentieth century with all its vicissitudes, and enter the twenty-first century, with all its promise. At this historic juncture it is of great significance that we have gathered here from all corners of the world to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The founding of the United Nations 50 years ago was a major event in the history of international relations. It reflected the strong desire of the people of the world to eliminate the scourge of war and mirrored humanity's dream for a new world of peace, equality, cooperation and prosperity.

Over the past 50 years our world has undergone earth-shaking changes. The struggle for national liberation and social progress has raged like a prairie fire. Mankind has maintained peace for half a century. However, all is not tranquil in the world today. The international situation after the end of the cold war has, on the whole, moved towards relaxation, yet hegemonism and power politics have lingered, armed conflicts and local wars have kept cropping up one after another, and hundreds of millions of people in the developing world are still struggling with poverty.

Over the past 50 years the United Nations has done much useful work in mitigating regional conflicts, eradicating colonialism, expediting arms reduction and promoting peace and development in the world. However, it also has its failures and setbacks. Certain big Powers have tended to use the Organization as a

signboard under which to advance their own political interests, and their rivalry has often left the United Nations in limbo. Moreover, the rights and interests of the large number of developing countries have not been fully respected for a long time.

Our experience and lessons over the past half century, the purposes and principles of the Charter and the epochal themes of peace and development have all placed solemn and urgent demands on us.

We must create a secure and reliable international environment of lasting peace and stability. Disputes between States should be resolved through peaceful negotiations and consultations instead of resorting to the use or threat of force. Efforts should be made to stem and remove various factors that might lead to war, with a view to safeguarding the security of all countries and regions in the world.

We must uphold the norms governing international relations, with the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs as the core. These principles established by the founders of the United Nations in the Charter 50 years ago have greater vitality and are of realistic significance today. All sovereign States are equal members of the international community. It is time that we wrote a new chapter in the annals of international relations in which the phenomena of the big bullying the small, the strong lording it over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor are removed completely from the face of the Earth.

We must establish a new type of international economic relations featuring mutual benefit, mutual complementarity and common development. The internationalization of economic life requires that all countries conduct extensive economic exchanges and cooperation. The developed countries should help the developing countries to revitalize their economies, which also serves the long-term interests of the developed countries.

We should bring about a situation of international harmony which allows countries to make independent choices and seek common ground while putting aside differences. It is within the sovereignty of every nation to opt, in keeping with its own reality and the will of its people, for a social system and road of development of its own choice. No one else has the right to interfere with it. It is only by respecting one another seeking common ground while putting aside differences, living with one another in amity and complementing one another that we can make the world as colourful as a garden where a hundred flowers compete for the beauty prize.

We must join hands in meeting the challenges to human survival and development. We all share one and the same planet. The solution to such global issues as ecological degradation and population explosion requires not only efforts at the national level but also close coordination and cooperation at the international level.

It is our view that the foregoing points should be incorporated in the new international political and economic order whose establishment has been eagerly desired by the people of all countries. The United Nations should and can play its important and unique role in this regard. It can be said that the realization of such a new international political and economic order is the main hallmark of the better world we are to build together.

Loving peace and desiring development, the Chinese people are willing to cultivate friendly relations and cooperation with the people of the rest of the world and steadfastly pursue an independent foreign policy of peace. Even when China becomes stronger and developed it will not seek hegemony or pose a threat to anyone. On the contrary, China, as an important force for the maintenance of world peace and stability will make an even greater contribution to mankind.

There is only one China in the world and Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Government of the People's Republic of China is China's sole legal Government and its sole representative in the United Nations. The Chinese people have the ability, the resourcefulness and the confidence to overcome any interference in putting an end to the division between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits and achieve the reunification of the motherland.

Being a founding Member of the United Nations and one of the permanent members of the Security Council, China has always abided by the purposes and principles of the Charter and conscientiously fulfilled its international responsibilities and obligations. We believe that the United Nations should adopt necessary and appropriate reforms in the spirit of fairness, reasonableness and full consultation.

The political leaders of our generation have on their shoulders the historic mission of carrying forward the

cause of world peace, development and progress into the future. In looking forward to the new century, let us join hands and work together for a still better world.

The President: I thank the President of the People's Republic of China for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Serene Highness Prince Rainier III, Head of State of the Principality of Monaco

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Serene Highness Prince Rainier, Head of State of the Principality of Monaco.

His Serene Highness Prince Rainier III, Head of State of the Principality of Monaco, was escorted to the rostrum.

Prince Rainier (*interpretation from French*)**:** The Principality of Monaco, which takes a modest seat among the concert of nations, is honoured to be able to join in this solemn tribute paid by the General Assembly in devoting this Special Meeting to commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

The terrible images of the Second World War, of horrible combats, of massive destruction, of endless suffering inflicted on innocent civilians and on combatants, remind us of the kind of events and dangers that brought the representatives of 51 allied countries to San Francisco to sign, on 26 June 1945, the Charter that established the United Nations.

While the balance of military force and diplomacy has since that memorable date spared mankind a further world conflagration, many countries have suffered from armed conflict. We still see too often the tragic picture of civilians fleeing the fighting and taking the road of exodus to uncertain destinations; we see families, women and old people completely abandoned.

In all circumstances, the United Nations has done its utmost, with the authority and means available to it, to help promote a return to peace, to protect the peoples exposed to danger and to ease the suffering of victims.

Experience has shown that the needs which gave rise to the San Francisco Charter are with us today.

Apart from the conflicts that I have just mentioned, in the past 50 years the world has also undergone other upheavals which political leaders have to take into account in their day-to-day activities and in their decisions.

Focusing only on the essentials, I shall speak about the population explosion throughout the world and the serious attacks on nature and the environment by urbanization and industrialization; the major advances by science and technology, which have often benefited man but have sometimes also brought new threats to his life or health; the appearance of scourges, such as drugs and AIDS; and blind terrorism of various kinds and authors.

The United Nations and its specialized agencies are doing their utmost to bring about the exchange of knowledge, and cooperation and agreement, the only way to enable people and nations to move along the road to peace and sustainable prosperity. That is the major challenge facing us at the end of the second millennium.

As a Member of the United Nations the Principality of Monaco has adhered to the purposes and principles enshrined in the San Francisco Charter. For the time being, my country has no other ambition than to live up to the commitments it has entered into under the Charter and to implement the decisions taken on the basis of the Charter.

Monaco is regularly involved financially in the work being undertaken on behalf of children, refugees, victims of torture, and disabled persons — indeed the humanitarian work of the Organization. Our Principality is always willing to participate in initiatives to strengthen the protection of unarmed civilian populations during times of conflict.

The Principality is a seagoing country and is particularly active, and intends to continue being active, in the sphere of protection of the seas and oceans, and, beyond that, nature in general.

Monaco remains faithful to the recommendations adopted at the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit and is striving to implement them. We now know that natural resources are not inexhaustible. Only by using them in moderation can we ensure peace and well-being for future generations.

I cannot end my statement without paying well-deserved tribute to the current and former officials and

staff of the United Nations — first among them, of course, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his predecessors — for their devotion and self-sacrifice, sometimes at the peril of their lives, in the service of this Organization.

May the experience of the last 50 years encourage us to persevere in our efforts so that the world can take even greater inspiration from the ideals that led the way in the founding of the United Nations.

Peace is not merely the absence of war. It is, above all, a vocation residing within each one of us, and when its seeds are spread, peace can take root and flourish everywhere and for everyone.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Head of State of the Principality of Monaco for his statement.

His Serene Highness Prince Rainier III, Head of State of the Principality of Monaco, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Cheddi Jagan, President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Cheddi Jagan, President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

His Excellency Mr. Cheddi Jagan, President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Jagan: As the United Nations proudly celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, I wish to join the other Members of our international family in paying tribute to the Organization which has served us so well over these many years.

As so many others before me have testified, the accomplishments of the United Nations during its 50 years of existence have been many and significant. With the ending of the cold war, there is now a promise of even greater achievements.

Yet, although now free from the tensions of East-West rivalry, we are still hostage to many threats to our peace and security. This crucial time is characterized by, first, globalization and liberalization of the world economy, dominated by transnational corporations and one over-powering ideology; second, unacceptably high unemployment and underemployment, even in a period of economic growth, referred to as "jobless growth" and "jobless recovery"; third, increasing poverty and widening gaps, in developed and developing countries, between the haves and the have-nots — the included and the excluded — and between the rich North and the poor South; fourth, chronic budget and balance-of-payments deficit problems for many Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, leading to the dismantling of the welfare State and cuts in welfare benefits in the North, as well as cuts in aid to the South — the phenomenon now termed "donor fatigue" or "aid fatigue"; fifth, social, including family, disintegration; sixth, strife and conflicts based on race, ethnicity, tribe, culture and religion, leading to a marked increase in refugees; and, seventh, demagogy and confusion, leading politically, to the dangerous rise of the extreme right, the religious right, national chauvinists, xenophobists and neofacists and, socially, to racism and racist attacks.

Cumulatively, these factors pose a grave threat to international and individual peace and security. Consequently, there is an urgent necessity for a new global human order as an adjunct to the United Nations Agenda for Development. A new global human order must have as its goal human development, which means meeting the basic needs of the people, attaining cultural uplift and providing a clean and safe environment.

To attain a new global human order, it is necessary to establish a sound and just system of global governance based on a genuine North-South partnership and interdependence for mutual benefit; a democratic culture of representative, consultative and participatory democracy and a lean and clean administration; a development strategy free from external domination and *diktat*; the application of science and technology for increased production and productivity; a global development facility, funded by pollution taxes, cuts in military expenditure — the peace dividend — a mere 3 per cent reduction of which could realize $460 billion in the five-year period from 1995-2000, and a tax of 0.5 per cent on speculative capital-exchange movements, which could yield $1,500 billion annually; and the administration of a development fund by a democratized and reformed United Nations for allocation without undue conditions to the developed and developing countries alike — with such assistance, more job opportunities could be created by a works programme, as was done under the Roosevelt New Deal Administration during the Depression of the 1930s, and we could have a shorter

work week and a lower pensionable age, while for the developing countries, aid could be given in the form of debt cancellation, long-term rescheduling of debt, soft loans and grants.

Third-world debt is strangling our reconstruction and human development efforts. Although we paid more than $1.3 trillion between 1982 and 1990, our countries were 61 per cent deeper in debt in 1990 than they were in 1982. During the same period there was a net South-to-North outflow of $418 billion — not including outflows such as royalties, dividends, repatriated profits, underpaid raw materials and so on — a sum equal to six Marshall Plans, the Plan which provided aid to Europe at the end of the Second World War. At the same time, our third-world countries lose about $500 billion annually in unfair non-equivalent international trade, a sum equal to 10 times the official development assistance from the developed countries.

This unjust economic order must be replaced by a just new global human order for international and individual security and peace. The human development paradigm must be established on a basis of empowerment of our peoples, accountability, productivity and sustainability. Economic growth must be linked to equity, with social justice and ecological preservation.

Let us together resolve, on this historic occasion, to strengthen the United Nations, which was created not only to preserve us from the scourge of war but also to allow our peoples to live in larger freedom. Let us move forward in unity with a new global human order.

The President: I thank the President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Cheddi Jagan, President of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Izetbegović: The United Nations, whose anniversary we celebrate today, has always been a source of our hope, but also a constant cause of our disappointment. Some say that it is the largest, but, on occasions, the most inefficient body in human history. The number of unimplemented resolutions is proof of this. Being as it is, our Organization probably reflects the imperfection of our world. If the continuous improvement of the world is not work in vain, the further improvement of the United Nations is not only possible, but very necessary.

The supreme goal is the maintenance of peace. The United Nations has succeeded in the prevention of global conflict, but it has proved less effective in stopping local ones. The sum of the catastrophic consequences in local wars from the founding of the United Nations until today has reached a tragic balance with the world wars of this century.

The United Nations acted effectively in stopping the Gulf crisis. Unfortunately, this efficacy has not repeated itself in the case of the aggression against my country. The price of hesitation has been enormous. My people have paid this high price.

I would like to repeat the words of the Georgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, who at this rostrum two days ago stated:

> "We must have the courage and the will to call an aggressor an aggressor, and genocide genocide." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Fiftieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 36th meeting, p. 29*)

As the Assembly knows, very often, there has been a lack of either courage or will, or sometimes both.

In several days the talks on peace in Bosnia will commence. We approach this initiative, undertaken by the United States and its President, with the best of faith and with plenty of hope. Our people need and want peace. We did not start this war, and, although we are enduring, we have not dreamed of being victors in war. We have always worked towards peace and we would like to be victors in peace. We want to strengthen a society based on political and ethnic pluralism, respect

for human rights and private enterprise. Since, on the other side, everything is opposite to this, we are confident that our ideas will triumph in a peaceful concurrence in the next five to 10 years. Thanks to the superiority of our models of society and State, we shall win, with God's help.

The Bosnian Government and Army will not accept the division and disintegration of our country, no matter in what packaging it may be served. The division of Bosnia will lead to the continuation of war, immediately or later.

Genuine democratic elections in Bosnia are a big chance — if not the only real chance — to remove from the commanding political and military functions the war criminals and nationalist fanatics who caused this war and who will continue to poison the relations between people and nations. In order for this chance for democracy in the Balkans not to be wasted, it is necessary to ensure certain conditions. These conditions are freedom and effective international supervision of elections.

If the peace negotiations are concluded successfully, the reconstruction of the war-stricken areas will follow, in particular in Bosnia. The international community is promising significant support for the reconstruction plan. In this connection, I would make one, maybe unexpected, proposal: put conditions on this assistance. Send a clear message that the party which will not respect freedoms and human rights will not receive assistance. And decide that these conditions should be strictly observed. Do not make mistakes again, in the hope that you can buy or change the criminals and tyrants by new concessions. And take one step further. Isolate the criminals and tyrants. That is the only way.

Those who have led their people to the path of crime must be removed. Without this there is no peace or security, neither in Bosnia, nor in the region.

We want and have the right to integrate Bosnia, which has been destroyed, not through the will of its people, but through the force of weapons. The Bosniak-Croat Federation is an important step in this direction, and all friends of Bosnia should support and assist this project.

In order to achieve peace, and — what is more — to maintain it, it is necessary to establish a balance in weaponry. This balance can be established on a higher or lower level. We give preference to the latter, and we demand the reduction of Serbian heavy weaponry. If the Serbs reject this, the only option is to arm the Bosnian Army, which, so strengthened, will become a factor of peace and stability in the region.

At present, almost all of our cities are within the reach of Serbian artillery. This artillery must be removed or destroyed. We cannot and we will not agree to continue to live under permanent threat.

Finally, in the past two days many speeches have been delivered in this Hall. We have heard nice and lofty words on democracy and freedom and all that comes with them. Freedom and justice have been recalled by some of those who have stridden and continue to stride over the basic rights of people and nations.

One of the ancient holy scriptures says "Judge them according to their deeds". Therefore, let us listen to what they are saying, but let us see what they are doing. As soon as they return home, they will continue their unrepentant course — of course, if we continue to tolerate it.

The President: I thank the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Alija Izetbegović, President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Wilton S. Sankawulo, Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government of the Republic of Liberia

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Wilton Sankawulo, Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government of the Republic of Liberia.

His Excellency Mr. Wilton S. Sankawulo, Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government of the Republic of Liberia, was escorted to the rostrum.

Chairman Sankawulo: On the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, I am greatly honoured and most gratified to have an opportunity to address this august body.

Half a century ago men of optimism who envisioned a world of peaceful coexistence among nations founded

the United Nations. They saw the necessity of instituting measures for the prevention and the removal of threats to international peace and security. They wanted to encourage friendly relations between States based on the principles of sovereignty, equality and improving the quality of life for all peoples by fostering economic, social and cultural cooperation throughout the world.

This historic development was prompted by the horrifying experience of two world wars — devastation that threatened the annihilation of life on Earth in all its forms. Additionally, the rapidity with which new weapons of mass destruction were being introduced in the theatre of war aroused the urgent need to set up a permanent mechanism to regulate international relations. The founders of the United Nations also saw the need for defining and codifying rules of conduct for the prevention, management and peaceful resolution of disputes between nations.

If the spectre of war prevails in most of the countries that attained independence after the birth of the United Nations, it is due largely to the legacy of colonialism, the cold war and the pains that often characterize the new birth of freedom. Colonial powers disregarded the traditional values and social needs of their subjects. The contest for spheres of influence during the cold war gave rise to autocratic regimes, which were insensitive to the aspirations of their peoples. These new democracies must go through growing pains before acquiring maturity. Thus the signing of the United Nations Charter 50 years ago in San Francisco by 51 States, including my country — Liberia — was a significant milestone in the creation of a global arrangement for securing human liberty, as well as maintaining international peace and progress.

This Charter embodies the aspirations of all mankind. Believing in the principles for which it stands, including that of universality, many countries joined the Organization. Today, its membership stands at 185 States. By providing a forum for a frank exchange of views on international issues, the United Nations draws together nations of diverse ideological orientations to tackle their common problems.

A beacon of hope for mankind, the United Nations vigorously fought colonialism and racial discrimination, strongly advocating the right of all members of society to live a free, secure and fulfilling life. In order to safeguard this right, the United Nations established a number of specialized agencies to combat the perennial enemies of mankind: ignorance, disease and poverty. We can say with pride and satisfaction that the United Nations has won for itself enviable records of success in these endeavours. Most colonized nations have received their independence; the obnoxious system of apartheid has crumbled; the quality of life has vastly improved in many countries.

However, the United Nations cannot afford to rest on its laurels, for its successes are overshadowed by conflicts in many parts of the world. A steadily widening prosperity gap and inequities strain relations between the developed and the developing countries. We hope that the nations of the world, especially those enjoying economic affluence, will take positive steps in the near future to establish a new economic order that will improve the quality of life for all peoples. To do less would be an act of non-compliance with the Charter's mandate to forge international machinery to promote the economic and social advancement of all nations.

As peace and development are inextricably linked, Liberia welcomes the two expositions of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, entitled "An Agenda for Peace" and "An Agenda for Development". Both documents provide a framework in which we can implement the principles contained in the United Nations Charter as it relates to the new realities of the post-cold-war era.

Liberia lends its voice to the call for restructuring of the United Nations. This vital institution must continue evolving and growing in an enlightened fashion, but always within the limits of the principles enshrined in its Charter.

I want to utilize this forum to inform the Assembly that, after almost six years of bitter civil war, Liberians are more hopeful than ever before that peace is finally at hand. This achievement is due largely to the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which is currently under the dynamic leadership of President Jerry John Rawlings of Ghana. Liberians will for ever remain grateful to our West African brothers for providing and maintaining a peace-keeping force in their country for the security of the people. This, indeed, is an example of genuine African solidarity.

We also extend our deepest appreciation to the United Nations, its specialized agencies, the United States and the international community for the assistance they have rendered throughout our conflict. Now that we have come to a crucial point in our search for peace, we appeal to States Members of the United Nations to render

us the assistance needed to bring this conflict to an end by providing the requisite support for the disarmament and demobilization of fighters and the repatriation of our people who are currently languishing in refugee camps abroad. We are assured of peace because the present Council of State comprises all factional leaders, who have turned territories under their control over to the Cease-fire Monitoring Group of ECOWAS (ECOMOG) for the immediate disarmament of all their fighters.

As the Liberian Government and people begin fulfilling the sacred mandate of returning the country to democratic rule, we shall need the continuous support of the international community, not only for the disarmament and demobilization of fighters but also for the social and economic reconstruction of the nation. We are appealing for this support so that Liberia — a founding Member of the United Nations — may regain its standing in the comity of nations. It is our fervent hope that all States Members of the United Nations will make substantial contributions to the Pledging Conference on Liberia to be conducted by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, President Rawlings of Ghana and myself this Friday for the generation of funds to implement programmes that will put Liberia back on its feet.

As we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is worth noting that, despite its setbacks and shortcomings, this Organization remains the world's principal mechanism for maintaining international peace and security and for mobilizing collective efforts to deal with global problems.

As we approach the twenty-first century, we must build a new global order that can fulfil the yearnings of the human family for peace, social justice and progress. Liberia reaffirms its abiding faith in and its commitment to the principles of the United Nations.

May God save this all-important Organization as it endeavours to bring peace and prosperity to mankind.

The President: I thank the Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government of the Republic of Liberia for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Wilton S. Sankawulo, Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government of the Republic of Liberia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Kuniwo Nakamura, President of the Republic of Palau

The President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Kuniwo Nakamura, President of the Republic of Palau.

His Excellency Mr. Kuniwo Nakamura, President of the Republic of Palau, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Nakamura: It is a great honour and pleasure to address this historic gathering and to have the unique privilege of hearing the profound reflections of the world's leaders on the institution of the United Nations and the status of our world.

Mr. Berisha (President of Albania), Vice-President of the General Assembly, took the Chair.

We are in a period of unprecedented change and opportunity. I refer not only to the remarkable geopolitical events of this decade but also to the accelerating scientific developments changing our world every day. Technical advances, particularly in the fields of telecommunications, computers and material sciences, seem almost miraculous and offer an improved quality of life never before thought possible. They tie our countries, large and small, together and make us dependent on each other as never before in the history of our planet. Money and ideas move instantly across borders. We have the ability to properly feed, educate and provide health care to every human on the planet.

On the other hand, we may be letting these great opportunities slip away. We in Palau are alarmed at the continued degradation of our environment. Every day brings further news of the extinction of species, the irrevocable loss of whole ecosystems, the irrefutable evidence of global warming and a host of additional environmental problems. The continued testing of nuclear weapons not only suggests the spectre of worldwide destruction but also poses potential environmental problems, particularly when such experiments use the Pacific Ocean as their testing area.

Many of the problems we now face can be traced to limited perspective. We may be able to think of, and be concerned for, our children or grandchildren, but who can really care for, or even imagine, our descendants hundreds of years in the future? Large-scale conflicts between nations are often a product of a perspective

which focuses on the small differences between groups, and not the enormous similarities between all people.

The United Nations represents the most ambitious and noble attempt humankind has ever made to craft a lens with which to transcend self-interest as individuals and as nations. With such a lens we are able to consider issues from the vantage point of the representatives of our close-knit global family who will come here to the United Nations 50 and 100 years from now to celebrate future anniversaries of this magnificent institution.

The United Nations was born out of a global consciousness shocked by the horrors of the Second World War and it is appropriate that much of its energies are focused on the prevention of war. However, we must recognize that warfare is often a function of economic disparity. An effective tool for the prevention of war is therefore the creation of economic strength within nations and the promotion of economic interdependency between nations. To help prevent conflict, the nations of the world must work through the United Nations, the World Bank and other appropriate bodies to ensure the enhancement of economic cooperation between its Members.

As the newest Member of the United Nations, we also strongly support the desires and aspirations of indigenous people who are still struggling for their basic rights. We believe that the United Nations must continue fully to support self-determination and to give hope to people who desire freedom and control of their own destiny.

Our planet has been compared to a spaceship flying through the universe. As the President of a maritime nation, I prefer to think of it as a sailing vessel. When my ancestors sailed from South-East Asia to Palau, they needed courage, knowledge and wisdom. As nations, we too will need all of these qualities in the coming years. But most of all, my forebears needed to cooperate for the common good in order to survive. The United Nations is at the helm of our planetary ship and we are the captains, navigators and crew. We must all learn to sail together if our voyage is to be a successful one. May peace, harmony and good will ultimately prevail on our planet.

The Acting President: I thank the President of the Republic of Palau for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Kuniwo Nakamura, President of the Republic of Palau, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Rwandese Republic

The Acting President: The Assembly will next hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Rwandese Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Rwandese Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Bizimungu: As we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, we pay homage to the founding fathers of this Organization, whose vision has charted the way for humanity. The Organization was founded in the aftermath of two devastating world wars.

The purpose was to save mankind from similar calamities arising from social injustices by providing moral tenets for peoples and nations. Indeed, the United Nations formulated and developed significant basic principles relating to human and fundamental rights, the equality of nations and peoples, and the promotion of social and economic progress for all humanity. A lot has been achieved. However, the proclamation of those noble objectives on the one hand and their implementation on the other have, on many occasions, reflected double standards.

While the Charter stipulated the self-determination and sovereignty of nations, colonized people have often had to resort to armed struggle to restore their freedom. Even after flag-independence, new nations remain burdened by the influence of the dominant Powers. If ours were not a sham independence, former colonies would no longer be considered areas of influence where the strategy of "divide and rule" is still applied and the traditional relationship is still that of dominator and dominated.

Last year's horrendous genocide in Rwanda, which cost over a million lives, was the direct consequence of the factors that I have mentioned. Before the advent of colonialism, Rwanda was already a coherent nation. Our ancestors successfully strived to build a nation and a people called Banyarwanda from many kingdoms and peoples.

For centuries, Rwanda existed without divisions on the basis of ethnic or any other sectarian tendencies. Colonialism introduced racist theories and ideologies and practised discrimination. The first ethnic massacre

engineered by the authorities in the history of Rwanda occurred in 1959. Rwanda was still under colonial rule. It is important to recall that, from the end of the First World War until 1962, Rwanda was administered under the trusteeship of the League of Nations and subsequently of the United Nations. Since that time, Rwanda has had nationals living in exile as refugees. The plight of those refugees, who numbered about 2 million before last year's genocide, received no attention for over three decades. The existence of those refugees is vivid testimony of the discriminatory policy that was pursued inside the country. In actual fact, the present Government is the first in the history of modern Rwanda that does not prevent its nationals in exile to return home.

Were it not for outside interference intended to divide our compatriots, the Rwandese people, based on moral principles and legal instruments set by the United Nations, would easily find solutions to the consequences of genocide and a path towards national reconciliation. But now, the planners and perpetrators of genocide are welcomed in some capitals, not only as ordinary, innocent refugees, but as heroes deserving to lead people. Those same criminals, encouraged by complacency, plan to carry on genocide and are being re-armed while at the same time they forbid refugees to return home.

Not only is this a violation of international conventions; it also reflects moral decay. How can the world be peaceful when there is no respect for basic principles and when there is no morality? It is in this context that President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya pretends to serve a good cause by associating with those criminals and protecting them.

In economic matters, relations between rich and poor countries are also characterized by the domination of the weak by the strong. One example is that, when negotiating with financial partners, underdeveloped countries have no choice but to accept projects the way those international financial institutions want them. But when they fail, the consequences are not shared — all of them are shifted to the poor nations. This is the origin of the debt burden, which has negative effects on development.

Mechanisms should be worked out so that the United Nations can deliver on expectations. In particular, there is a need to reform the Security Council to make it more representative and to strengthen the role of the General Assembly.

The future of our Organization, our future, requires us to strive for unconditional solidarity and more dynamic cooperation. Mankind should never again witness the horrors of genocide that took place in Rwanda and the current "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia must be brought to an end. We count on the United Nations to direct and support our efforts to create a better world for humanity.

The Acting President: I thank the President of the Rwandese Republic for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Rwandese Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, President of the Republic of Bulgaria

The Acting President: The Assembly will now hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, President of the Republic of Bulgaria.

His Excellency Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, President of the Republic of Bulgaria, was escorted to the rostrum.

President Zhelev: I would like to thank Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for his warm welcome and the opportunity to address this most representative international forum on behalf of the Republic of Bulgaria, whose people celebrate, together with the whole world, the fiftieth birthday of the United Nations.

Its birth was both a promising beginning and a triumphant end to a terrible war. In the gigantic clash between democracy and totalitarianism during the Second World War, the democratic forces in Bulgaria preserved their nation's dignity. Despite the difficult historic circumstances, Bulgaria allowed no Bulgarian Jew to be sent to the death camps and no Bulgarian soldier to fight against the anti-Nazi coalition. What is more, it fought against the Nazis in the winter and spring of 1945. Regrettably, Bulgaria could only join the United Nations 10 years later, when it had already been entrapped in the Warsaw Treaty Organization at the cost of its independent policy.

Without the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1989 "velvet" revolutions in Eastern Europe would hardly have been able to sweep away the totalitarian regimes equipped, as they were, with the

powerful tools of demagogy, propaganda and terror. The two documents proclaimed, once and for all, the universal validity of fundamental human rights. They held out the promise of social progress and a higher standard of living through individual freedom and free enterprise.

Modern Bulgaria is gradually resuming its traditional place in the European family, developing the full range of relations with the countries and bodies of the European Union, of which it is an associate member. It is an active partner of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), working with it for the cause of peace and international security. Briefly, Bulgaria is steering a steady course to the West while building bridges to the East and the South.

In the last 50 years, the south-eastern part of Europe reproduced on a smaller scale the pattern of international relations and even the world contradictions; hence the high stake in the present effort to resolve the raging and smouldering conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria has been giving its unwavering support to the international effort to restore peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to build regional security. It has been doing so at a high economic and moral cost. We know from experience that the democratic option is the key to the reconciliation of interests and the rights of various ethnic and religious groups in a rule of law. We are, therefore, prepared to participate in building up the democratic institutions and in the material recovery of the embattled areas in the post-war period.

A long-term strategy for a lasting settlement of conflicts in south-eastern Europe should be founded in a modern communications and transport infrastructure linking the Balkan countries with the rest of Europe, north-south and west-east. There is an urgent need for specific programmes in support of stable regional development. The day before yesterday, together with the Presidents of other States in the region, we made one more effort to pool our resources, with the help of some international organizations, to breathe life into the initiatives for the development of south-eastern Europe.

Our historical experience has taught us that unity is strength. I would like to assure the Assembly that Bulgaria will continue to be a worthy Member of the United Nations.

The Acting President: I thank the President of the Republic of Bulgaria for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev, President of the Republic of Bulgaria, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Jacinto Peynado Garrigosa, Constitutional Vice-President of the Dominican Republic

The Acting President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Jacinto Peynado Garrigosa, Constitutional Vice-President of the Dominican Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Jacinto Peynado Garrigosa, Constitutional Vice-President of the Dominican Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Peynado Garrigosa (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this Special Meeting at which we commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we must recognize and congratulate ourselves on, what the United Nations has meant to humanity since 1945. Its achievements at the international level, particularly those relating to the maintenance of peace, have been one of the most precious assets of mankind throughout this past half century.

We must also recognize that the ongoing efforts by the United Nations to promote human rights and to eliminate injustice have been of overriding importance.

This Organization has been able to settle armed conflicts and avoid armed conflicts, has fostered democratic institutions by promoting free and fair elections, and has raised its voice in defence of the poor, bringing humanitarian assistance to tens of millions of people throughout the world.

Its leadership in efforts to protect the environment is moving towards the achievement of consensus on reversing environmental degradation throughout the world and in achieving a sustainable way of life as we approach the twenty-first century.

We must also mention the enormous efforts made by the United Nations to eliminate infectious disease and to carry out the worldwide child-immunization campaign, and in the adoption of the Conventions on the Rights of the Child and on the protection of women.

But in this new millennium, which is only five years away now, our Organization must also face up to the

great challenges of a permanently changing world, in which areas of confrontation, discrimination and extreme poverty remain.

In the new world situation, peace implies economic and social well-being, environmental viability and the protection of human rights: to think of peace without these is virtually impossible. The times require that Governments now become involved in thorough change in their economic and social structures so as to establish the basis for sustainable human progress. Economic measures alone, without a reordering of society that would enhance the dignity, freedom and self-development of human beings, can never help in strengthening democracy.

The alleviation of poverty must be based on policies that include integration of the poorer sectors, so that they can enjoy the benefits of life in society. Let us then adopt the right solutions now to eliminate the causes of poverty, which have such a significant effect on the social fabric of our peoples. Let all our nations — rich and poor, large or small — seek together a way of achieving a better standard of living through sustainable economic and social development.

It is time to choose those instruments that will enable us to put into practice our ideas, which have already taken the form of conventions, declarations and resolutions by this Organization and its specialized agencies. Let us ensure that everybody benefits from the general well-being.

The great majority of Heads of State who have spoken before me have agreed that when the cold war ended, new priorities emerged for all the nations of the world. If we add to this reality the fact that the globalization process often requires additional sacrifices, we must conclude that the pressures on nations, particularly the smaller ones, will increase in the not far distant future. At that time, the United Nations will have to play an active and decisive role so as to maintain the social, economic and political balance among the nations that make it up, with the understanding that all have the same rights and obligations now that we are enjoying a relative peace and that titanic efforts are under way to resolve the conflicts that persist.

Our Government, headed by His Excellency Joaquín Balaguer, and the people that I represent join in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, and share the hope that the Organization's efforts and successes will continue to increase in the continuing search for a just, united, common and fraternal humanity, sharing the material and spiritual assets of a civilization that can lead us to see people as part of a common humanity.

We would urge all Member States to respect the mandates and the initiatives of this Organization, for only through a true awareness of all the problems facing our countries and their possible solutions will we be able to promote the well-being of the individual.

The Acting President: I thank the Constitutional Vice-President of the Dominican Republic for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Jacinto Peynado Garrigosa, Constitutional Vice-President of the Dominican Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Jean-Luc Dehaene, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium

The Acting President (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Jean-Luc Dehaene, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium.

His Excellency Mr. Jean-Luc Dehaene, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Dehaene (interpretation from French): The fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, which we are commemorating today, marks the beginning of a new era for our Organization. The longstanding divisions of the cold war have given way to a heightened awareness of our growing interdependence. The processes of integration and of regional and international cooperation, the development of trade and economic globalization are all positive phenomena. However, the international community remains vulnerable to imbalances, crises and conflicts that affect its various components. Self-interest as much as generosity therefore oblige the international community to show solidarity.

The best instrument for implementing that solidarity is still the United Nations. This fiftieth anniversary should therefore be an opportunity for us to adapt the United Nations to new realities and to equip it to face the challenges of the next century.

It is above all in the social and economic fields that I see a priority role for the United Nations. The globalization of socio-economic activities calls for an

integrated and universal approach, for if the development of the world economy is not accompanied by regulations and corrective mechanisms, it runs the risk of increasing destabilization and of breeding social and ecological imbalances.

Our Organization is the ideal forum in which to address these major questions efficiently by stimulating interaction among the various institutions and organs of the United Nations, which continue to play an important role in their respective fields.

I welcome the growing importance that the United Nations attaches to these global challenges. In recent years, major conferences on the environment and development, human rights, population, social development and, very recently, on women have strengthened our conviction that only a common, united commitment can enable us to tackle the major obstacles to development successfully.

Let us not lose the momentum generated by these major conferences, and let us give real effect to the objectives that they have set, using the United Nations to channel the political energy thus created and step by step to create a more just new world order. In that fairer new world order, our Organization should give particular importance to a concerted campaign to combat terrorism, the scourge of drugs, cross-border criminal activity and arms trafficking.

The United Nations should serve also as the world's conscience. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has served as the basis and a source of inspiration for the whole normative undertaking of the last 50 years in the area of the protection and dissemination of human rights.

In a wider context, the establishment of an international criminal court would, in our opinion, mark a new and important phase, and I hope that this objective will soon be achieved. Respect for human rights, combined with democratic social organization, creates conditions favourable for development. Without economic and social development, peace will always be fragile.

The United Nations performs a function of primary importance in the maintenance of international peace and security, whether acting alone or with regional organizations. The credibility of the United Nations peace operations can be ensured only if certain conditions are met.

The United Nations should urgently increase its capacity for and speed of intervention. One method of doing this would be to improve the existing system of stand-by forces.

The best contribution of the international community to peace and security is still, above all, avoiding the outbreak of conflicts by means of preventive diplomacy. There needs to be cooperation to this end among the United Nations, the Member States, regional organizations and specialized agencies.

Certainly the United Nations requires reform if it is to become more efficient and more effective. But we must remain pragmatic and first give it a solid financial base. As a reflection of its Member States, the United Nations can do nothing unless we confirm our political commitment and comply with our financial obligations. Any unilateral stance would only aggravate the United Nations crisis.

The United Nations, as the driving force of international dialogue and mutual understanding, deserves our respect and our support. It is still the best guide to economic and social development, the best instrument for the protection and promotion of human rights, and an assurance against military adventurism. Drawing on our half-century of experience, let us seize this opportunity to create a world in which future generations may find fulfilment in peace and dignity.

The Acting President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Jean-Luc Dehaene, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Banharn Silpa-Archa, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand

The Acting President: The Assembly will now hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Banharn Silpa-Archa, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand.

His Excellency Mr. Banharn Silpa-Archa, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Silpa-Archa (*spoke in Thai; English text furnished by the delegation*): Fifty years ago, a tree was

planted to shelter mankind from war and want. This tree, the United Nations, was an expression of faith and hope that, through international cooperation, peace would prevail and people everywhere would enjoy the fruits of progress. The dramatic end of the cold war created a widespread expectation that peace and prosperity were finally within reach. But peace has yet to prevail throughout the world.

To the people of Thailand, peace is not merely an absence of hostilities. Peace must be a positive state of well-being. It must be peace with freedom and justice, leading to prosperity. We call it *santisukh*, which means "happiness in tranquillity". To achieve this ideal peace, Thai culture places particular emphasis on tolerance and compromise. These virtues have stood the test of time. Thai rulers throughout history have recognized the importance of these virtues in fostering social harmony and progress. As a result, tolerance and compromise are deeply ingrained in the Thai character, forming the cement which bonds our society together. It is therefore only natural that these Thai core values should find resonance in the United Nations Charter, which seeks

> "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

The President returned to the Chair.

Over the past few decades, this affinity between Thai values and United Nations goals has been reflected in South-East Asia. In Cambodia, both Thailand and the United Nations played key roles in ending the conflict and, in effect, in bringing peace to the region. Today, that formerly war-torn country is on the road to democracy, while its citizens are enjoying new-found security and freedom.

Peace is but one crucial facet of *santisukh*. The other involves the creation of a better life for the people. In this regard, the record of the United Nations speaks for itself. The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) has worked quietly but effectively to improve the lives of millions of Asians. Thanks in no small part to ESCAP, poverty and disease in the region are receding, and more people are taking charge of their own destiny.

In this day and age, where uncertainty lurks at every turn, and where sustainable development poses a challenge, the United Nations is more important than ever. Its role in South-East Asia has shown that, with the right kind of support, it is indeed capable of promoting "happiness in tranquility". We should see to it that the Organization concentrates on the things which only it can do, or which it can do better than any other international body: to stop people from killing each other, to get people to treat each other fairly, and to help people live in an environment of their own choosing. These are the most valuable contributions that the United Nations can make to mankind.

On behalf of the people and the Government of Thailand, I hereby reaffirm our faith in the principle's and purposes of the United Nations Charter and pledge our full support for the Organization in its efforts to promote lasting peace and global prosperity.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand for his statement.

> *His Excellency Mr. Banharn Silpa-Archa, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, was escorted from the rostrum.*

Address by His Excellency The Honourable Edison C. James, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Legal Affairs and Labour of the Commonwealth of Dominica

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency The Honourable Edison C. James, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Legal Affairs and Labour of the Commonwealth of Dominica.

> *His Excellency The Honourable Edison C. James, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Legal Affairs and Labour of the Commonwealth of Dominica, was escorted to the rostrum.*

Mr. James: On behalf of the Government and the people of the Commonwealth of Dominica, I extend sincere congratulations to this body on its fiftieth anniversary. May I also say that it is a privilege and an honour for our country to participate in this special celebration. I say "special" because Achievement Fifty in any endeavour attracts particular attention. For us in the cricketing world, the number 50 signifies a milestone in the cricketer's record, always met with warm applause; as individuals we mark our fiftieth birthday in special ways. However, such occasions provide the opportunity also for reflection, for self-examination and for self-criticism: for looking ahead.

Looking back, one can say that the past 50 years have not been the easiest or the most peaceful in the history of mankind. Fifty years ago, the world was slowly emerging from the batterings and atrocities associated with two global conflicts, particularly with the Second World War, that most horrifying experience in the history of mankind. There was, understandably, scepticism about the capacity of any one institution to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. But hope springs eternal in the human breast, and born out of the rubble was an ideal, embodied in the United Nations system, that war could give way to peace, that the use of measured words could replace the use of force in settling disputes. The task has not been easy.

Today we celebrate the fact that 50 years ago a group of dedicated men and women, undaunted by what they had witnessed, came together to forge an organization totally dedicated to peace among men. Today we salute those nations which, through the United Nations, continue to struggle towards that peace.

Among the areas of achievement during these past 50 years can be cited the dismantling of colonialism and the birth of the great majority of nations represented here today in this Assembly. We have seen friendly relations develop among nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and the self-determination of peoples. We have seen international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian character. We have seen encouragement for the achievement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. In all these endeavours, the United Nations has played a major part and has been a significant contributor to world peace. Indeed, today we can all celebrate.

The successes to which we allude could not have been achieved without the strong support offered the United Nations by its partners in the perennial search for peace: those regional and interregional bodies which serve as the monitors and implementers of United Nations policies. As current chairman of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), I am proud to state on behalf of my colleagues, Heads of Government of CARICOM, that our organization has been one of those partners. A most recent example of our commitment to world peace is our mission of hope to the Haitian people, a well loved part of our Caribbean family.

The United Nations has enjoyed other successes to which all can justly claim to have made some contribution. In this hemisphere, there is the solving of problems in El Salvador. Across the Atlantic there is the question of the independence of South-West Africa, now Namibia, and there is the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.

While the solving of political problems is important, we view the present role of the United Nations as one of active involvement in the search for an enhanced quality of life for the inhabitants of this earth, thus linking peace and security with economic and social development. In this regard, the role played by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UNICEF, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and other specialized agencies of the United Nations deserve applause. Efforts at improving the situation of under-privileged persons should also receive universal applause. The Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing Conferences have helped to advance gender equality and give recognition to the role of women in the agenda for development.

As we look to the future with hope, we cannot help but reflect with concern on the fact that one of the founding Members of the United Nations has now been relegated to the status of a non-Member. I refer here to the Republic of China. The Commonwealth of Dominica believes that a way can and must be found for the 21 million people of that territory to have a voice in the affairs of the United Nations.

As we enter the second half-century of the United Nations, there is talk of modernization, revitalization and restructuring, concepts every organization must not only keep in mind, but must for its own survival actively seek to apply to its *modus operandi*. The United Nations system was designed to deal with the problems of the post-war period, problems mainly related to the disruption of international peace through recourse to arms. Today's threat to peace has to do primarily with development. We would like to believe, therefore, that the cost- cutting measures and streamlining proposed for this restructuring will take into account the legitimate aspirations of those who people small and vulnerable States such as the Commonwealth of Dominica. We also ask that in the name of justice for all, powerful and prosperous countries refrain from trade and economic measures which will have as a result the lowering of the standard of life of these small and vulnerable States. Let us always remember that every human being has a right

to be clothed with dignity, and that at the very heart of the cosmos stands that same human being, that irreducible kernel of development.

The world looks to us for leadership, and much more. The Commonwealth of Dominica pledges its support to, and will seek to collaborate with all United Nations efforts to provide this leadership to the world. Guidance, fairness, justice, peace and security are for many still distant ideals. Let us reaffirm our belief in the principles enshrined in our Charter. Let us rededicate ourselves to bequeathing a healthy planet, a peaceful world to succeeding generations. We cannot and shall not let them down.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Legal Affairs and Labour of the Commonwealth of Dominica for his statement.

His Excellency The Honourable Edison C. James, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Legal Affairs and Labour of the Commonwealth of Dominica, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by Her Excellency Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

The President: The Assembly will now hear a statement by Her Excellency Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Her Excellency Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mrs. Bhutto: Fifty years ago this day, men and women of vision assembled to create an Organization to save the world from war.

The principles of equal rights and self-determination lay at the heart of that Charter. Millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America owe their freedom to the pursuit by this Organization of these noble ideals. We celebrate this achievement. For 50 years there has been no global conflict. We celebrate this great achievement.

We applaud the United Nations humanitarian and peace-keeping interventions, to which the brave sons of Pakistan have contributed with their own blood.

We welcome the United Nations efforts to emphasize social issues, including population, social development, women and human settlements.

The threat of global conflict has receded, but the images of suffering in Kashmir, in Bosnia and other regions have saddened us all. And although foreign occupation of Afghanistan has ended, Pakistan has been left to carry the burden of one and a half million refugees. The United Nations needs to share this burden and strengthen its efforts for peace in Afghanistan.

So, as we celebrate the achievements of the United Nations, we pause for self-criticism and self-appraisal.

The Secretary-General has described the Kashmir dispute as one of the oldest items on the United Nations agenda. Forty-eight years of occupation have not crushed the spirit of a noble people, committed to the right of self-determination, committed to the ideals of the United Nations, placing their hopes on the United Nations pledge to hold a plebiscite to determine their future.

Do not close your hearts, your minds, to the torment of Kashmir.

Global interdependence is reality. U Thant said, "It is not starry-eyed idealism", but our "instinctive sense of survival" that brings us all here. Survival today means a common effort to reduce poverty, hunger and disease, to save our environment, to address human needs, to prevent social disintegration and to restore moral values as the foundation for the actions of individuals and nations. Survival means greater democratization within nations and within the international system.

The Security Council needs enlargement, but not in its permanent membership. An Under-Secretary-General should be appointed to give greater emphasis to poverty alleviation. Peace-keeping and conflict resolution mechanisms need strengthening. I invite Member States to Islamabad for a conference for this purpose next year.

It is insufficient for us to denounce atrocities in Rwanda, Bosnia and Kashmir. The perpetrators must be punished. We should create an international criminal court for this purpose. And in the age of the information highway, we need to distinguish between the freedom of expression, the freedom of action and the freedom to pervert, to pollute and to destroy.

New challenges face us. Terrorism, the narcotics trade and arms smuggling are some of the evils that know no boundaries. To meet these challenges, we need the United Nations. To meet these challenges, the United Nations needs an independent financial base. For this, a

tax on international financial transactions, on international travel, on the exploitation of space or the oceans, can be considered. Today, the responsibility for the future rests on our shoulders. Let us not shirk that responsibility.

Let us remember the words of the philosopher Spinoza, who said: "Peace is not merely the absence of war. It is a virtue that springs from force of character".

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for her statement.

Her Excellency Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency The Right Honourable Percival James Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency The Right Honourable Percival James Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica.

His Excellency The Right Honourable Percival James Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Patterson: Fifty years ago the United Nations was founded to promote international peace and security. Its mission was to foster cooperation between nations. The effective functioning of a system of collective security was immediately threatened by bitter and intense super-Power rivalry.

It is proof of its resilience that the United Nations has survived the cold war and prolonged periods of international tension. It has contributed constructively to resolving a proliferation of regional conflicts and tackling other critical problems which imperil international security. There are other sterling achievements which are deservedly a source of pride. It has presided over the decolonization process, resulting in profound geopolitical changes. It has fostered a significant broadening of international programmes, through innovative social and economic programmes, embracing many fields of cooperation. We in Jamaica welcome its latest progeny, the International Seabed Authority, which enables all nations to exploit peacefully the resources of the seabed as the common heritage of mankind.

We concede that the United Nations is by no means perfect. Yet we shudder even to contemplate what kind of world would have emerged without it. It has become an indispensable instrument in the search for global dialogue in the resolution of disputes. It offers the only hope for the harmonization of global interests and for defusing the complex issues which otherwise can so easily ignite.

We sometimes forget that the United Nations is the creature of its Members. We make it what we will. As Member States, it is our solemn obligation to build an effective system which generates lasting peace and social justice. This will entail revitalization and reform in the structure of United Nations organs and the content of their programmes. Reform of the system must reflect the current political realities. It must also be driven by the legitimate right of all Member States to democratic participation on the basis of sovereign equality, no matter what the size, wealth or power. The right of veto must be reviewed. We need a brand new agenda now. It cannot be business as usual. The traditional approach will not suffice.

One billion of the world's population still languish in extreme poverty. The desperation and frustration in the daily struggle for survival by so many often ends in conflicts, straining the bonds of social cohesion and resulting in hostile and violent eruptions.

The eradication of poverty and its attendant evils — starvation, malnutrition, homelessness — must engage the preoccupation of the entire international community. Wherever they occur, these problems cannot be confined to the place of origin. All of us have a stake in their solution. The improvement of the human condition throughout the entire planet must be the immediate objective of all our efforts. If purely humanitarian concerns will not suffice, let us be spurred into action by the practical need to avoid incessant turmoil and thereby maintain global stability.

To recognize the linkages is simply not enough. There is urgent need for the commitment of resources on a scale commensurate with the immensity of the problem. We require a global partnership in which those with the means bear their full share in a global programme to promote development and thereby spare any human being anywhere from the scourge of hunger, ignorance and disease.

Let not this occasion be just another celebration of institutional endurance but a reaffirmation of our collective will to confront the compelling challenges as we face the new millennium. Our prospects for the future

are inextricably linked. Let us today renew our pledge to create a world of enduring peace and abundant prosperity for every member of the human race.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister of Jamaica for his statement.

His Excellency The Right Honourable Percival James Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the State of Israel

The President: The Assembly will next hear a statement by His Excellency Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the State of Israel.

His Excellency Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the State of Israel, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Rabin: *Shalom.* This podium has heard many cries of joy, as well as many words of despair. This podium has seen justice, but it has also seen evil, cruelty and exploitation. In the past 50 years this podium has seen empires fall, and borders erased. But it has also seen people awaken to their freedom and the nations of the world display their flags side by side. It has become possible to fulfil the words of the prophet Isaiah, a son of the Jewish people:

> "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more".

This is the dream which I bring to you today from Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the State of Israel and the heart of the Jewish people.

This morning I appear before you, the Heads of State of the international community, as the Prime Minister of the State of Israel and as the representative of the Jewish people. I also stand before you today as a representative of those for whom the creation of the United Nations came too late. I come here today in the name of the 6 million whose lives were turned into ashes, whose souls ascended to heaven in burning flames. We will never let them be forgotten. I stand here as a representative of the children who will never smile, in the name of the parents whose children were torn from their arms, of the grandmothers and grandfathers whose screams fell on deaf ears.

But we will also never forget our benefactors in this organization of the United Nations who 48 years ago gave us a chance for independence. Up to this very day, we still hear the echoes of the roll-call vote and the two thirds of the Member States of the Organization who, on that fateful evening, voted in support, fulfilling their moral responsibility.

There were also many years when, in this hall, hurtful and unjust decisions were taken against us. There were absurd resolutions which have since been rescinded, such as the resolution equating Zionism with racism. Many ideologies have failed and faded away. But it is Zionism that brought the Jewish people to its historical homeland. Zionism won.

We are grateful to the international community for its encouragement at this historic moment which is unfolding on our little plot of land: the agreement between Israel and the Palestinians — and I wish to congratulate Chairman Arafat on being our partner in this achievement; the peace treaties between Israel and Egypt, and between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; and the significant changes in Israel's relationship with the entire Middle East.

The road is still long. However, we are determined to continue until we have brought peace to the region, for our children and our children's children and for all the peoples of the region. This is our mission. We will fulfil it.

Just as we came to you to protest, we now come to praise the change in the relationship between Israel and the international community and the United Nations. However, we cannot be complacent. The United Nations must continue to give expression to the new reality in the Middle East. We must all be at the forefront of the fight against the forces which threaten peace and security in the region for all the countries, for all the peoples of the region, and for the entire world.

We call upon the international community to assist us in locating our missing in action, and in enabling our prisoners of war to return to their homes and families.

As long as children die from hunger, our job here is not yet finished. As long as there is no peace in every corner of the world, our job here is not yet finished.

The United Nations must support those who are working for peace. It must intensify the international struggle against terrorism and its supporters. Terrorism is the world's cancer today. Don't fool yourselves: even if you ignore terror it can enter any of your homes. Terror must be defeated. Peace must win. This is a fight that we cannot afford to lose.

Israel celebrates here with everyone — with all those attending here and with the entire world — 50 years of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the State of Israel for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the State of Israel, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Khamphoui Keoboualapha, Deputy Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Khamphoui Keoboualapha, Deputy Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

His Excellency Mr. Khamphoui Keoboualapha, Deputy Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Keoboualapha *(spoke in Lao; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation)*: I am honoured to represent my country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, at this historic commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations. On behalf of the Government and people of Laos I would like to begin by extending our warm greetings to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, our Secretary-General, to Their Excellencies the Heads of State and Government, to the heads of delegations and to the distinguished representatives present on this solemn occasion. In particular, I should like to express my sincere thanks to the Preparatory Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary, chaired by Australia, for its impeccable performance. I should also like to thank Mrs. Gillian Martin Sorensen, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General for Public Relations, for her outstanding contribution to this endeavour.

The commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations offers us an unprecedented opportunity for the international community to learn from the lessons and experience of the past and to use them to make the role of the United Nations more effective and to achieve its ultimate goals, namely, the maintenance of peace and socio-economic development in the world.

During the last five decades, our universal Organization has been sorely tried in many conflicts and upheavals in various parts of the world. Despite the difficulties encountered, the United Nations has not only been able to survive, it has also been able considerably to strengthen its role in solving world problems. Amongst its many activities, there have been many commendable achievements in the area of decolonization, the establishment of the rights of peoples to self-determination and in the prevention of the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Its valuable contribution to the economic and social development of peoples is well known in the international community.

While we welcome what has been achieved, we cannot but confirm the fact that today's world is entering a new era — an era of cooperation for development. Yet the world is still without true peace. Prospects for the settlement of several political conflicts are bleak and remote. As many delegations have pointed out, to this must be added, poverty, disease, war victims, ignorance, backwardness and illiteracy, which are endemic in many countries and pose a major challenge to all nations. In order to remedy this state of affairs, it is essential to restructure the United Nations so that it can play a more effective part.

The realities of the world today show us that true peace cannot prevail until the imperatives of socio-economic development have been adequately addressed. Likewise, there can be no development without peace. The twin concepts of peace and development are therefore mutually complementary and deserve equal consideration.

As part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations we in the Lao People's Democratic Republic organized various events with broad popular participation in recognition of the Organization's assistance and cooperation that has contributed to much to the socio-economic development of the Lao people.

It is our hope that this historic commemoration will be a spectacular success.

The President: I thank the Deputy Prime Minster of the Lao People's Democratic Republic for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Kahmphoui Keoboualapha, Deputy Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania

The President: I next call upon His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania.

His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Ould Lekhal (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have the pleasure of reading to you the statement that the Prime Minister of Mauritania, Sidi Mohamed Ould Boubacar intended to make on this occasion:

"It gives me pleasure to address the Assembly on this memorable occasion on behalf of the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, His Excellency Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya.

"Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to preside over this historic session. On the occasion of this commemoration my congratulations go also to His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations Secretary-General, and to all the departments and specialized agencies of the United Nations.

"The fiftieth anniversary of our Organization, which we commemorate today, affords the international community an opportunity to reflect on the developments that have taken place in the world since the United Nations was founded, and to take stock of the Organization's successes and failures.

"The 50 years that have elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations are long enough to allow us to look back and to evaluate the work of the Organization. The object-lessons we can draw from such evaluation would help us chart our course towards the bright future we hope for in line with the lofty goals of our Organization which was originally created to resolve mankind's problems on a basis of justice.

"The United Nations came into being at a particularly painful moment in man's history. The world, battered by war, was yearning for peace, stability and economic reconstruction. There can be no doubt that since then the United Nations, through its specialized agencies and associated bodies, has chalked up considerable successes — in the maintenance of international peace and security, in decolonization, in the promotion of human rights and democracy as well as in the sphere of development assistance and in combating major endemic diseases.

"Here, I take special pleasure in paying a tribute to the invaluable assistance given Mauritania, along with other developing countries, by the United Nations specialized agencies, especially the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in their respective fields.

"Although it is true that the era of bipolar confrontation has been superseded by an era of greater dialogue for the maintenance of international peace and security, and although striking progress has been made recently in the world, particularly in South Africa, where apartheid has been dismantled, and in the Middle East, where peace has begun to glimmer on the horizon, many countries still continue to live amid the turmoil of armed conflict and the majority of mankind still suffers from poverty and underdevelopment.

"The least developed countries, faced as they are with the effects of the world economic crisis, with an inexorable deterioration in terms of trade, with a pitiless external-debt burden and with a decrease in the volume of international assistance, are struggling on every front.

"The current crisis and the instability it is creating have their origins in the basic structural imbalances of the international economic system. The poverty and destitution of the majority of

mankind are a blot on the world's conscience and a threat to peace and international security.

"These imbalances and inequities must be tackled through innovative and bold solutions designed to meet the demands and realities of our shared world. In this connection we note the relevance of the pertinent resolutions adopted at the various world summits convened in recent years.

"The theme of today's commemoration — 'We the peoples of the United Nations ... united for a better world' — must be more than a slogan. May the wisdom and farsightedness of our forebears who wrote the United Nations Charter in 1945 inspire us to adopt the conduct and attitudes that will enable us to avoid the misfortunes and disasters of war and insecurity.

"From this rostrum, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania reaffirms its commitment to work to advance the great ideals of our Organization, to promote and consolidate international peace and security and to strengthen cooperation and solidarity amongst all nations for a world free of war, poverty and underdevelopment."

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania, who read out a message from the Prime Minister.

His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Mauritania, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Baboucarr-Blaise Ismaila Jagne, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Gambia

The President: I now call upon His Excellency Mr. Baboucarr-Blaise Ismaila Jagne, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Gambia.

His Excellency Mr. Baboucarr-Blaise Ismaila Jagne, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Gambia, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Jagne: I have the honour, on behalf of His Excellency Captain Yahya A. J. J. Jammeh, Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council and Head of State of the Republic of The Gambia, to deliver this statement on the auspicious occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The commemoration of the golden jubilee of the United Nations affords us a unique opportunity to review our past achievements and failures and, more to the point, to carve out a new path for our world that would be a community of peoples who need each other for survival. I refer, of course, to an interdependent world, a global village, in which the achievement of socio-economic growth, peace and security in one country would depend largely on similar performance in other countries. Can the developing South grow appreciably without the participation of the industrialized North? Can the North continue to prosper in the face of poverty and deprivation in the South? We in the developing countries of the South need a head start, as was given to Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War through the Marshall Plan. There should be no half-way measures.

Fifty years after the signing of its Charter the United Nations continues to stand as a universal symbol for millions of people all over the world. In our view, the United Nations holds the solution to the quest for world peace and security, and, in this regard, any country that fulfils the obligations of membership should be allowed to take its rightful place in our midst on the basis of the widely accepted principle of universality. That is why my delegation believes that the Republic of China on Taiwan should be re-admitted into the United Nations. It should be noted that there is a peaceful revolution going on in the Republic of China on Taiwan that promises to make the concept of a global village a reality. I refer to the information-technology revolution.

Unlike the United Nations, which has registered 50 years of existence, our Government has recently celebrated a successful year in office. The task of nation-building has not been made easy by the prevailing harsh economic and political climate under which developing countries, like ours, have to operate. The Government of the Republic of the Gambia remains committed, however, to the successful implementation of its Programme of Rectification and Timetable for Transition to Democratic Civilian Rule, as well as the Programme for Socio-Economic Development. Every effort is being made to meet the targets set. It is disheartening to note, however, that our traditional partners in development, rather than joining hands with us in our efforts to build a new society, are looking for the slightest signs of derailment of the transition process. In this way, they could sit back and say, "I told you so!" If we are marching alone,

therefore, it is because our partners have decided to march out of step.

The legitimate aspirations of small States will, we hope, henceforth be given greater attention by the United Nations, bearing in mind that the greatness of a country depends not on its size but on the quality of its leadership and the national character of its people.

It is our fervent hope, too, that from now on nations will not be guided in their relationships by the law of the jungle or the misguided instinct of might being right. What happened to the State of Kuwait five years ago is still fresh in our memories. Such aggressive behaviour must never happen again to any country, however big or small.

In our relentless endeavour to promote international peace and security, there should be more consultation between the United Nations and regional organizations. In our view unilateral decisions are, for the most part, counter-productive. A case in point is the dispute between Libya and some Western countries. We believe that the position of the Organization of African Unity on this dispute offers a reasonable starting point for a resolution of the impasse.

The presence of President Fidel Castro at this commemorative event should bring into sharper focus the three-decade-long blockade that has been imposed on the Cuban people. We reiterate that it is high time that this blockade was lifted.

As we commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of our Organization we should also recognize that the tasks ahead are startlingly clear, and that we must face them squarely.

There are some who claim that we have lost our self-confidence as a result of the severe and debilitating nature of the crises confronting the international community in the post-cold-war era. My delegation believes, however, that, while we must be frank and critical, especially in owning up to our past shortcomings, we must not lose confidence or faith in our collective ability to summon the necessary will and take the appropriate action in the interests of mankind.

There is growing universal consensus on restructuring the main organs of the United Nations to reflect current international reality. Fifty years after its founding and its enlargement to include almost all the countries of the world, the United Nations today bears no resemblance to the Organization set up after the Second World War to cater to the needs of that period. The Security Council especially, as the main policy-making arm of the United Nations, should be expanded to really take into account the views and aspirations of the great majority of the membership of the world body.

It is our sincere wish that, as we are poised on the threshold of a new millennium fraught with challenges and opportunities, we, as Members of the United Nations, will be able to stand firm and live up to the confidence reposed in us by our peoples, the peoples of the United Nations.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Gambia for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Baboucarr-Blaise Ismaila Jagne, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Gambia, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by Her Excellency Mrs. Susanna Agnelli, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy

The President: I now call on Her Excellency Mrs. Susanna Agnelli, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy.

Her Excellency Mrs. Susanna Agnelli, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mrs. Agnelli: Allow me to begin by paying a tribute to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General for the impeccable way in which the Special Commemorative Meeting has been conducted.

Seventy-five years ago at the end of the First World War a few enlightened leaders joined together in pursuit of the common dream of a lasting peace. But their hopes were quickly dashed; some chose almost instantly to explore their own distinct path and the dream came to an end. The result was, two decades later, the outbreak of the Second World War.

Fifty years ago the world's leaders turned even more forcefully to the same dream, and this time succeeded in uniting all countries and peoples around common ideals and values. The result has been 50 years without a major war.

Preserving peace takes good will, untiring efforts and constant support from all United Nations Members. We should always remember the words of the United

Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Constitution:

> "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

The world has changed in the last 50 years and the United Nations has to change with it. International conflicts have been replaced by internal ones, characterized by political, economic, ethnic and religious tensions that often imply grave humanitarian crises and human rights violations. We must seek new formulas and instruments to face the new crises. Italy is working together with the United Nations to establish a staff college in Turin to train United Nations personnel in various fields.

Respect for international law remains of fundamental importance, but international law must also be adapted to new situations, as exemplified in the creation of the International Tribunals for former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. Yet ad hoc solutions are not enough. One step in the right direction would be the establishment of the international criminal court. My country trusts that this court can soon become a reality and has offered to host in Italy the conference for the adoption of its statute.

A reform of our Organization is clearly needed. Efforts are already being made in this direction. Italy is contributing an original proposal for the reform of the Security Council, which would benefit the Organization as a whole and all its Member States by making the Council more democratic, more representative, more transparent and more accountable to the General Assembly.

It is often said that there can be no peace without development and no development without peace. Ensuring the realization of both goals will take serious efforts by all. Developed and developing nations alike must strive to identify the priorities and tools needed to bring increased and more fairly divided prosperity to all the people of the world. Italy's commitment to these ideals is well known. I wish solemnly to reaffirm it before everyone here today.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy for her statement.

Her Excellency Mrs. Susanna Agnelli, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, was escorted from the rostrum.

Address by His Excellency Mr. Mario Enrique Villarroel Lander, President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

The President: In accordance with General Assembly resolution 49/12 A, I now call on His Excellency Mr. Mario Enrique Villarroel Lander, President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

His Excellency Mr. Mario Enrique Villarroel Lander, President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. Villarroel Lander (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am honoured and pleased to come to this great forum of the United Nations, which is now celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, bearing greetings on behalf of another universal institution already more than three quarters of a century old, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. These greetings that I have the honour to convey are backed up by the congratulations and best wishes of the 163 member national societies of the International Federation and of the 20 more that are in the process of formation.

Both the United Nations and our institution were founded by idealists who sought to bring works of enduring peace into the world. In our missions — yours aimed at the construction of a better world with peace, full justice and freedom; and ours aimed at the improvement of life for the world's vulnerable people — have likewise brought together the world's States and their peoples.

The United Nations now has 185 Member States, and over these crucial 50 years of existence it has, despite setbacks and great difficulties, quite clearly functioned well and achieved real successes. Our Federation has 128,600,000 members and volunteers and 260,740 employees, who serve with dedication all over the world.

Both our organizations are directly and continuously affected by daily happenings and events of all kinds involving our members. We are both multinational and cross-cultural in all our ways and customs. Our members represent every religion, culture and ethnic heritage in the world.

As those present well know, the humanitarian mission carried out by the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies is that of helping the most vulnerable people of the world — the victims of catastrophes, poverty and disease, the disadvantaged, refugees and displaced persons — by seeking to prevent, combat and overcome the things that make them vulnerable.

In our work we cooperate effectively with the United Nations, essentially through its specialized bodies and the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. Partly in recognition of the work we have accomplished, our past history and that significant and generous cooperation, the United Nations granted the International Federation the status of Permanent Observer in the General Assembly, thereby enabling us to share with it our views on the difficult issues affecting humanitarian work around the world today. By way of example, we could mention the complexity of relief operations, often conducted in fragmented States, and the politicization of humanitarian assistance, which underscores the need for organizations such as ours to maintain their neutrality and impartiality at all times.

We should also point out that minefields remain after conflicts are over, killing and maiming for years like some unimaginable curse. Sanctions bring undeserved suffering on civilian populations. Millions of refugees and displaced persons go for decades, sometimes even generations, without knowing a stable existence. Thousands upon thousands of people cross borders in search of better living conditions, sometimes only to find more violations of human rights and more violence than they had fled from. Problems of population, food, water supply and health loom menacingly over the provision of humanitarian needs. And the worst thing is that vindictive revenge matches, or at times exceeds, the insane violence of the enemy, which then faces its own difficulties in turn. These are some of the fundamental issues that the Red Cross and Red Crescent world will deal with in December, with the States signatories of the Geneva Conventions, at the twenty-sixth International Conference of our movement.

Neither can we forget that natural disasters, most of which are unavoidable, continue to take lives, maim people and impoverish nations, while technological disasters and the effects of offences against the environment poison entire regions, which then require years and vast expenditures to recover.

In this large context, it is imperative that we find ways to prevent many disasters if we do not wish to resign ourselves to their cyclic recurrence. However, the funds that donors now target for fostering development are taking a sharp downturn. That is why we decidedly share the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his August 1995 report on the work of the Organization. There he points out that in order to halt this downward spiral, sustainable human development must be instituted everywhere. A new vision of development, and the universal determination to achieve it, are essential for the worldwide progress all peoples desire and need.

We cannot overemphasize the value and fundamental necessity of encouraging and accomplishing sustainable institutional and resource development in order for nations and peoples to continue to prosper and grow. According to a well-known African saying, child-rearing requires the interest and participation of the entire village; in the same spirit, I would say that the growth and health of all humankind require constant commitment and action by all human beings, all nations, all peoples and all humanitarian institutions, such as the one I proudly serve.

We wish this lofty and vital institution at the service of all mankind, and its thousands of hard-working people, a happy fiftieth anniversary and every success in the work they undertake. In their responsible, systematic quest for peace and full justice, they overcome disagreement and discord, and in so doing, pave the way to a comprehensive, lasting peace, without the wars or social conflicts that divide mankind. For the sake of the future of humanity, this must be achieved. This is the lofty mission and the great challenge of the United Nations.

Allow me, on behalf of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, to congratulate the United Nations on its fiftieth anniversary and on its great achievements.

The President: I thank the President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for his statement.

His Excellency Mr. Mario Enrique Villarroel Lander, President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, was escorted from the rostrum.

The President: We have heard the last speaker for this morning's meeting.

May I ask once again, and for the last time, for punctuality at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.